TWO IN ONE: EXPLAINING THE MANAGEMENT OF THE OKAVANGO DELTA WORLD HERITAGE SITE, BOTSWANA

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Declaration

This is to certify that the results and conclusions presented in this thesis are my own and where the work of others has been used it has been properly referenced. This thesis has not been submitted for a degree at any other institution.

Gertrude Mamotse Matswiri Signed by candidate

March 2017

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my late husband Tebogo Matswiri who never got to see the end of this project. I will forever be grateful for your support.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AIA	Archaeological Impact Assessment
BOGA	Botswana Guides Association
BTO	Botswana Tourism Organisation
CBNRM	Community-Based Natural Resources Management
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
CHA	Controlled Hunting Area
COP	Conference of Parties
DA	District Administration
DDC	District Development Committee
DEA	Department of Environmental Affairs
DFRR	Department of Forestry and Range Resources
DLUPU	District Land Use Planning Unit (DLUPU)
DNMM	Department of National Museums and Monuments
DOT	Department of Tourism
DWA	Department of Water Affairs
DWNP	Department of Wildlife and National Parks
DWMPC	Department of Waste Management and Pollution Control
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
HATAB	Hotel & Tourism Association of Botswana
ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property

ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
IWU	International Waters Unit
KAZA	Kavango Zambezi Conservation Area
KCS	Kalahari Conservation Society
MEWT	Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism
MMEWR	Ministry of Minerals, Energy and Water Resources
MOMS	Management Oriented Monitoring System
NAP	National Action Plan
NCONGO	Ngamiland Council of Non-Governmental Organisations
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
ODNWHS	Okavango Delta Natural World Heritage Site
ODMP	Okavango Delta Management Plan
ODRS	Okavango Delta Ramsar Site
OKACOM	Permanent Okavango River Basin Commission
OKASEC	OKACOM Secretariat
OUV	Outstanding Universal Value
OWMC	Okavango Wetlands Management Committee
SAP	Strategic Action Programme
SEA	Strategic Environmental Assessment
TDA	Trans-boundary Diagnostic Analysis
TLB	Tawana Land Board

TOCaDI	Trust for Okavango Cultural and Development Initiative
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
VDC	Village Development Committee
WMA	Wildlife Management Area

Abstract

Because of their outstanding universal significance, World Heritage sites are worthy of special protection by the international and local communities. They obtain this status after being listed under the UNESCO 1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. In previously colonised regions such as Africa, the conservation and management of World Heritage is based on international laws and modern management systems introduced after conquest. However, the process protects mostly the universal values on which the inscription of the site was based. This often marginalises local values and local management systems which are important to local communities. It also alienates local communities from their heritage which they have protected for many years. This research explores the relationship between modern and traditional management systems in the Okavango Delta Natural World Heritage site. It will focus on understanding the local values of the site, the current management system and traditional practices of the local communities. The expected outcome is to develop a syncretic management system influenced by the traditional and the modern. It is hoped that such a system will not privilege one type of value over others.

Key words: Local communities, local values, management systems, universal values, World Heritage

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

"Throughout the world, local communities possess long histories of interaction with their cultural and natural environments. Associated with these people is a cumulative body of knowledge, skills, practices and representations. These sophisticated sets of understanding, interpretations and meanings constitute a cultural complex that encompasses language, naming, classification systems, resource use practices, ritual and spirituality" (UNESCO 2004: 10).

Flowing from the 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention, and the need to identify, conserve and protect cultural and natural places of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV), World Heritage sites are now an essential category of heritage that belong to all of humanity across the globe (Cleere 1989; Ndoro 2001; Sullivan 2004; Munjeri, 2004; Meskell 2014). While the emphasis has been on common ownership and universal value, regardless of geographical location, the listing and management of World Heritage sites has often been biased in favour of Western systems (Willems, 2009; Meskell, 2013). For example, the World Heritage list is dominated by monumental and built sites that are spread around the global west (Willems, 2009). In regions such as Africa, in 2016, the number of sites on the World Heritage list is comparatively small, with 90 properties out of the 1052 on the list, 48 cultural, 37 natural and 17 on the Danger list. The only challenge is that the criteria for listing and management of World Heritage sites is heavily skewed in favour of Western values and systems of management, resulting in the marginalisation of indigenous values and approaches to heritage management in non-Western regions such as Africa. Here, modern or Western systems of management were introduced with the dawn of colonisation in the late 16th century (Pwiti & Ndoro, 1999). The major consequence was that indigenous ways of managing heritage were pushed into the margins, a situation that without rectification still persists today in the post-colonial period (Shepherd, 2002; Abungu, 2005; Chirikure et al., 2010).

In general, the management of World Heritage sites, regardless of time and place, is based on the need to maintain a property's OUV (UNESCO Operational Guidelines, 2008). Emphasis on protecting a

property's universal value often marginalises other values that may be of local significance. And yet, as the above statement by UNESCO shows, it is the local values, beliefs and approaches that cumulatively interact to confer significance to natural and cultural places. Therefore, there is no need to marginalise local values and indigenous practices simply because a place has been listed as World Heritage. The fact is that the involvement of local communities and incorporation of their traditional management systems in the management of World Heritage sites is very crucial in maintaining the universal values of the World Heritage properties (Chirikure and Pwiti, 2008). Their alienation has been shown to cause conflicts that sometimes promote the destruction of attributes that convey OUV, thereby placing affected World Heritage properties at risk (Ndoro, 2003:82).

Apart from the dominance of Western management systems, it has been observed that the World Heritage Committee has institutionalised the 'conserve as found' principle which is based on the 19th-century Western conservation practice and which states that the present has a particular duty to conserve and protect the past for future generations untouched (Ndoro, 2001; Sullivan 2004; Smith, 2006; Labadi, 2013). This emphasis on 'untouched nature', 'pristine wilderness', unaltered monuments and their fabric, led to the minimisation of the evidence of human intervention, and to ignoring the traditional custodians, for whom there is often no separation between the physical and the cultural world (Sullivan, 2004; Jokilehto, 2006). As UNESCO now acknowledges, there is a very close link between people and their cultural and natural environments. Humanity developed knowledge, skills and cultural practices to interact with the natural environment. As a result of this recognition, the concept of World Heritage has changed over the years and now acknowledges the anthropological nature of heritage, and the interaction between nature and culture (Rossler, 2004, 2006; Jokilehto, 2006; Meskell, 2013). Cultural landscapes are now an essential category of UNESCO World Heritage sites. Slowly, UNESCO is now shifting towards the inclusion of customary management systems in the management of natural sites, as is the case with East Rennel World Heritage Property in the Solomon Islands (Rossler, 2004). In the East Rennel World Heritage property, customary land tenure and traditional management systems have been the basis for management and use of the site (East Rennel Nomination Dossier, 1998). In Africa, however, the overbearing influence of Western principles and values associated with heritage management is still very apparent, such that most natural sites are seen as 'pristine and untouched landscapes where traditional management systems have a minor or no role to play. This is the view that is attached to the Okavango Delta Natural World heritage property situated in Botswana (Figure 1.1). The property was listed on the basis of its unique natural features, but emphasis on Western values and approaches to management misses an opportunity for heritage management and conservation to benefit from the local experience.

Informed by the significance of local management systems, and their continued marginalisation from the mainstream approaches to protected areas, this thesis explores the management of the Okavango Delta within a framework provided by multivocality (Hodder, 2008) and the need to embrace multiple voices and practices, be they local or international, traditional or modern.

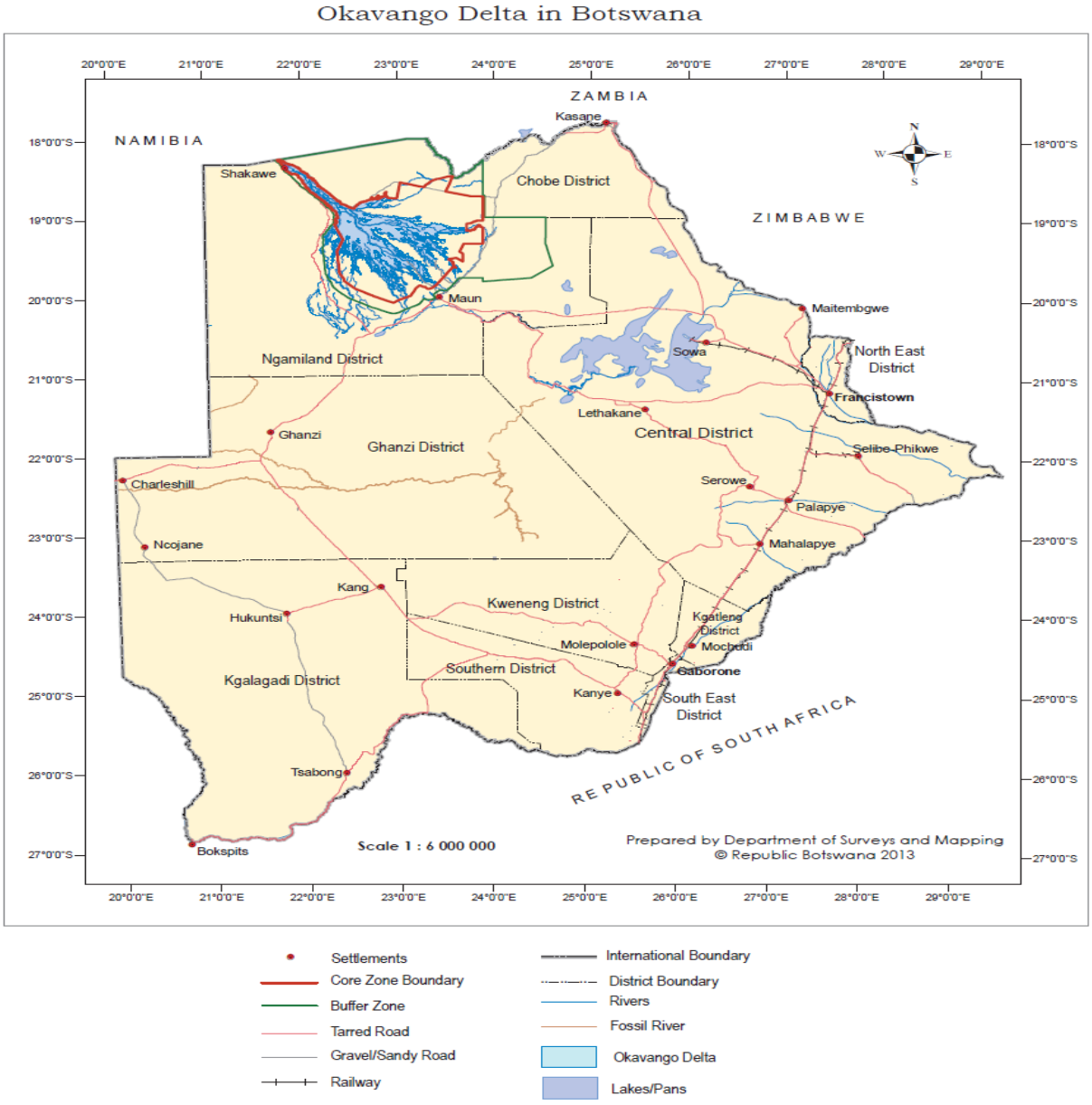


Figure 1.1: Location of Okavango Delta in Botswana (Source: Okavango Delta Nomination Dossier UNESCO-WHC, 2013)

1.2 Research Objectives

The broad aim of this thesis is to explore the management of the Okavango Delta Natural World Heritage site (ODNWHS) to place it within the context of local values, traditional practices of local communities and the modern management system. It is motivated by the need to address the following:

To characterise the existing management system for the ODNWHS

To investigate local values associated with the site as perceived by different stakeholders, in particular local communities.

Pursuing these aims will illuminate the local values of the site, local knowledge or practices used by local communities in the utilisation and management of the Delta and its resources. This will make it possible to explore, through stakeholder consultation, what the most appropriate management for the site could be.

1.3 Method and Theory

Although heritage management is about care and continuing development of a place such that its significance is retained and revealed and its future secured (Ndoro, 2001:2), the significance of a place is perceived differently by various stakeholders (Labadi, 2007). Local communities have their own values that might be different to those of professional heritage managers (Chirikure and Pwiti, 2008). And yet, listing on the World Heritage list shifts attention only to the attributes that convey OUV (Sullivan, 2004). This ignores local values which are also very important because a place does not exist outside its local context (Labadi, 2007). In fact, best practice in heritage management insists that all values of a place and not just its OUV must be acknowledged and catered for and that the management planning should include the conservation of all these values (Sullivan, 2004:53). This situation is often exacerbated by the fact that in most non-Western regions, the conservation and management of heritage has been the privilege of professionals such as archaeologists, anthropologists, architects and historians – technical and aesthetic experts – at the expense of local communities (Smith, 2006; Ndoro, 2001).

Furthermore, the dominant systems of heritage management divides heritage into ‘cultural’ and ‘natural’, and yet local communities do not perceive their heritage in terms of those binaries. This approach promoted the marginalisation of local communities from heritage management. To promote a system that includes the local and the international and the indigenous and the modern, this thesis uses a theoretical framework provided by multivocality (Hodder, 2001; Chirikure and Pwiti, 2008). Multivocality allows for the incorporation of different approaches, voices and stakeholders in the management and

protection of heritage places. It makes it possible for the modern and the traditional to co-exist for the good of heritage.

This thesis has had recourse to a robust methodology that combines desktop studies, interviews, questionnaires with detailed field work in the Okavango Delta. Desktop studies were carried out to understand the management system of the site and check for any possible gaps. Subsequent to this, questionnaires were sent to stakeholders. Interviews involving both individuals and focused groups were conducted and questionnaires administered to different stakeholders. Field work was conducted among two local communities in the study area, the Bugakhwe in Ngarange and the //Anikwhe in Khwai, to elicit information on local values and local management strategies.

1.4 Outline of Chapters

The thesis is organised as follows: Chapter 2 presents the natural setting of the study area, together with the settlement and conservation history of the Okavango Delta. Chapter 3 deals with a literature review on formal and traditional heritage management systems.

Chapter 4 discusses the theoretical framework and methods used in the study. Chapter 5 discusses the natural and cultural significance of the area and its local, national, regional and international significance. Chapter 6 is dedicated to the governance framework of the Okavango Delta and discusses the institutional arrangements and structures for managing the site.

Chapter 7 presents the analysis of the data from the various methodological techniques and presentation of results, discussion, conclusion and recommendations.

Chapter 2

Historical Background

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the natural setting of the study area, its location and description. The discussion will focus on the history of the Okavango Delta, the settlement history of the area and history of conservation and management, the resources of the area and values and significance of the site.

2.2 Location and Description

The Okavango Delta is situated in Ngamiland, North West Botswana. It is part of the Okavango River basin which forms part of Angola, Namibia and Botswana (see Figure 2.1).

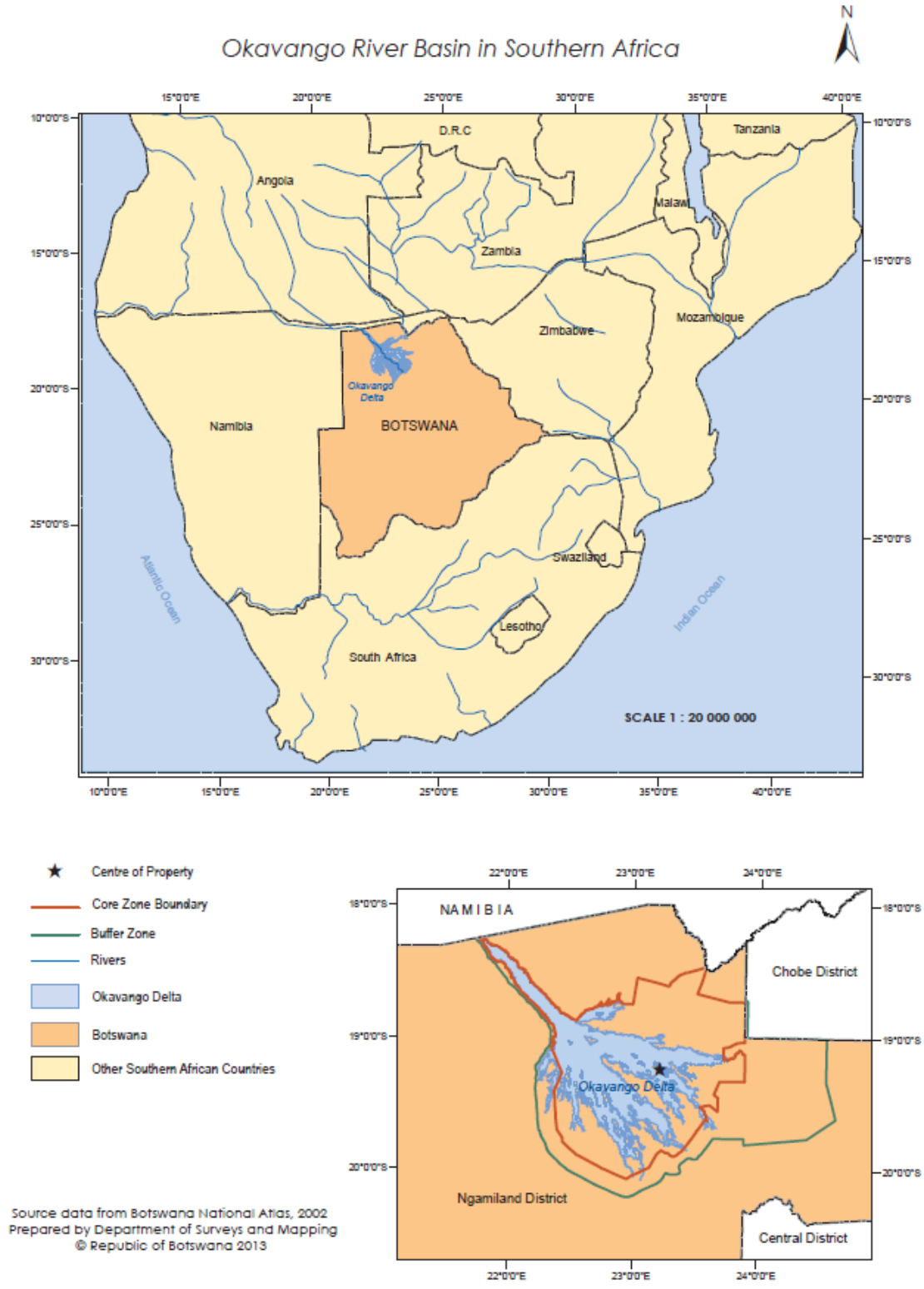


Figure 2.1: Location of Okavango River Basin in Southern Africa (Source: Okavango Delta Nomination Dossier, 2013)

The Delta comprises the lower reaches of the 1500 km long Okavango River, southern Africa's third largest, which originates in the Angolan highlands as two rivers, the Cuito and Cubango and flow south eastwards briefly through Namibia's Caprivi strip, before entering Botswana (see Figure 2.2). The river divides and its channels fan out forming an inland delta of about 15 000 square kilometres. The countless islands between the waterways give rise to several diverse ecosystems which in turn form the resource base not only for large populations of African mammals, birds and other small animals and also for the livelihood of people (Bolaane, 2013).

Figure 2.2: Map showing the Origins of the Okavango Delta (Source: Okavango Delta Nomination Dossier, 2013)

The Okavango Delta is a trans-boundary water resource. It is an important wetland that is recognised nationally, regionally and internationally. Nationally, it is protected through the Wildlife and National Parks Conservation Act of 1992, the Wildlife Conservation Policy of 1986, Environmental Assessment Act of 2011 and is managed by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks and the Department of

Environmental Affairs. It is a protected area, and it is divided into Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) and further into small units called Controlled Hunting Areas (CHAs) and part of it is the Moremi Game Reserve (see Figure 2.3). It is important to note that even though Moremi Game Reserve is classified as a Game Reserve, it is managed as a National Park and enjoys the same protection as National Parks in Botswana (Bolaane, 2013).

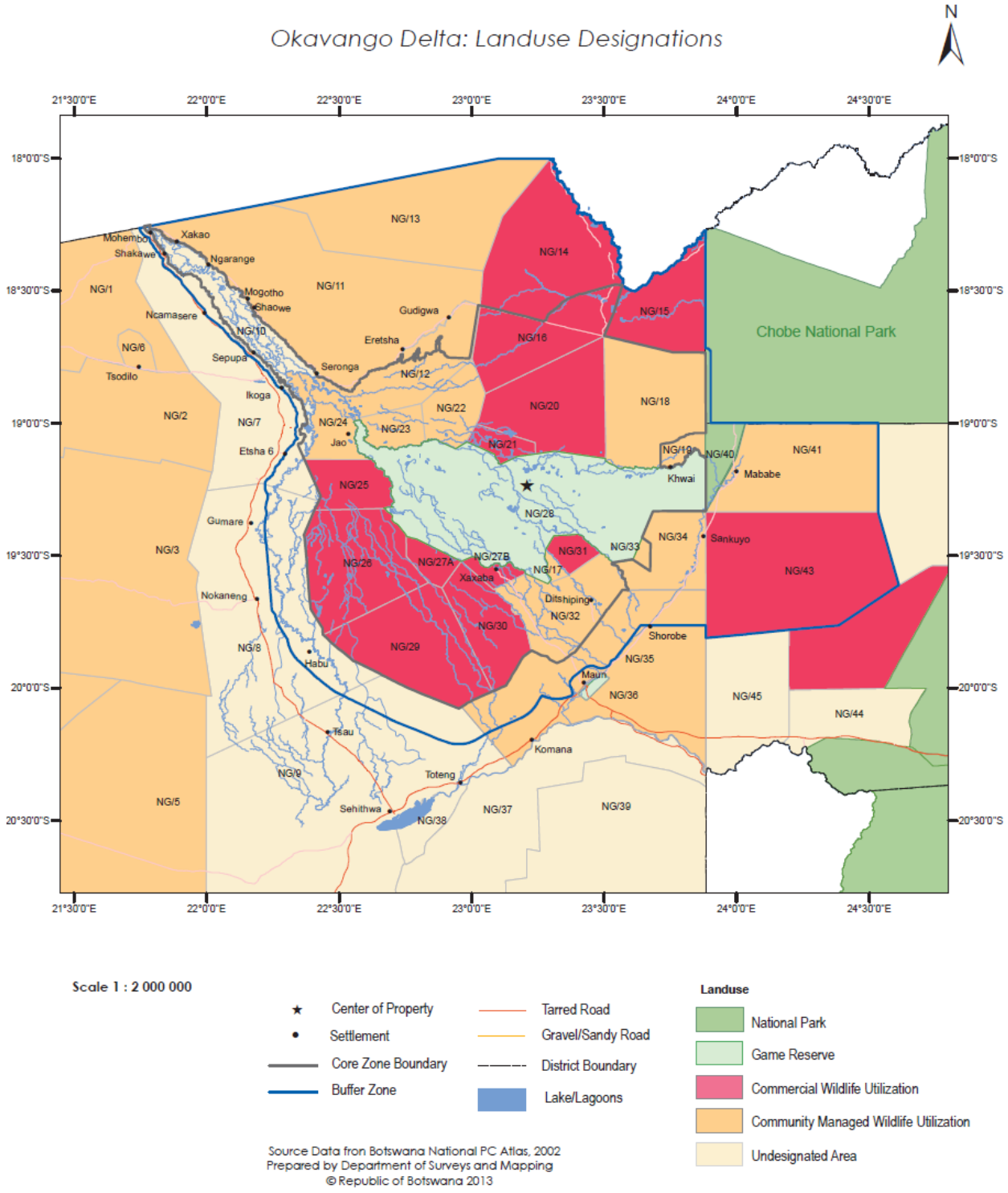


Figure 2.3: Map of Okavango Delta showing Land use designation (Source: Okavango Delta Nomination Dossier, 2013)

It is part of the Okavango Delta Ramsar Site (ODRS) (see figure 2.4). Regionally, the Okavango River basin is managed through the Permanent Okavango River Basin Commission (OKACOM) Agreement of 1994, between the three riparian states of Angola, Botswana and Namibia and other regional agreements such as the SADCC Protocol on Shared Water Resources.

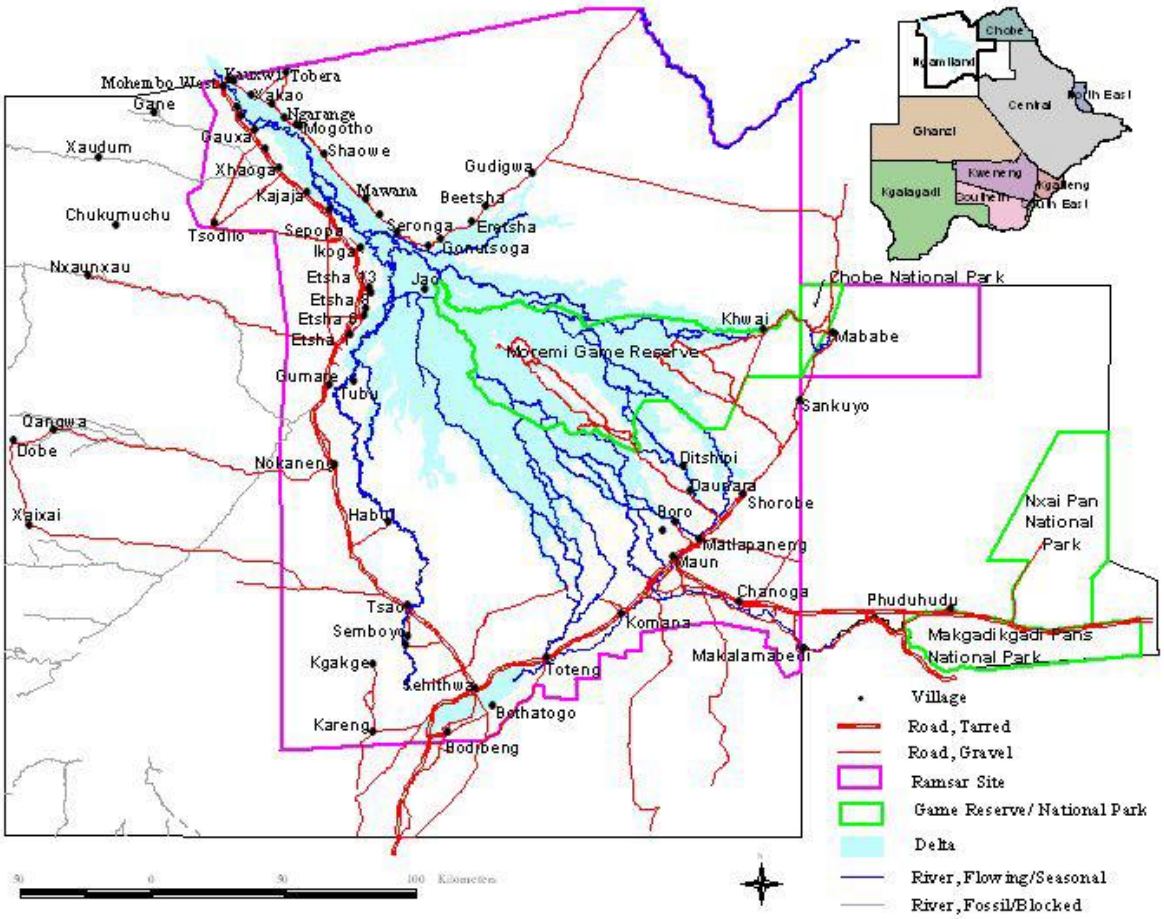


Figure 2.4: Map of the Okavango Delta Ramsar Site (Source: Okavango Delta Management Plan, 2008)

It is also part of the Kavango Zambezi Trans-Frontier Conservation Area (KAZA TFCA) which includes Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe (see Figure 2.5)

Figure 2.5: Kavango Zambezi TFCA Map Showing Okavango Delta (Source: Peace Parks Foundation)

Internationally, the Okavango Delta is renowned as a wetland of international importance and a natural site of outstanding universal value. It is therefore a Ramsar Site and a UNESCO Natural World Heritage site (see Figure 2.6). It is therefore afforded the highest form of protection at an international level.

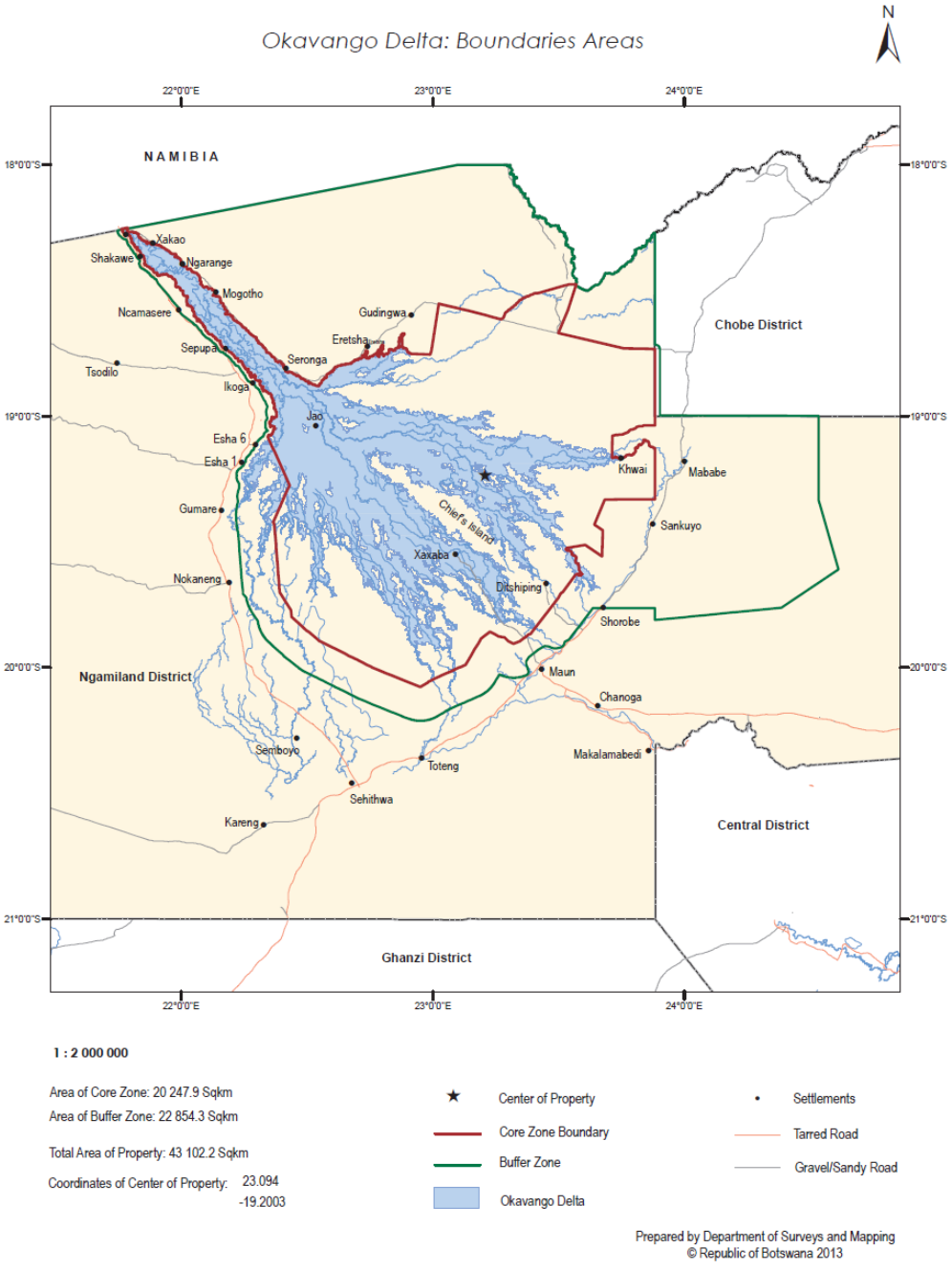


Figure 2.6. Map showing the boundaries of the World Heritage Property (Source: Okavango Delta Nomination Dossier, 2013)

2.3. History of the Okavango Delta

2.3.1 History of Settlement in the area

The Ngamiland district, which is home to the Okavango Delta, has an ethnically mixed population comprising hunter-gatherer San people and agro-pastoral Bantu peoples (Tlou, 1985; Bolaane, 2013). It represents a mosaic of cultures and languages, each placing importance on different resources (Bolaane, 2013: 22). Southern Africa has been inhabited by hunter-gatherers for millions of years and they were the earliest inhabitants of the Okavango Delta (Campbell, 1976). Evidence of Early and Middle Stone Age tools found on or near the delta margins suggest that they occupied the southern periphery of the delta (Campbell, 1976). The descendants of these who are referred to as Basarwa or San are believed to have occupied this area for the past 100 000 years onwards (Campbell, 1976).

The San have traditionally practised hunting, the collection of wild plant foods and fishing (Tlou, 1976). Of the San group living in the Delta, the Bugakhwe utilised both forest and riverine resources while the //Anikhwe mostly focused on riverine resources. The Ts'ixa were confined to the Mababe depression and utilised the Savuti Forest resources (Bolaane 2013: 23). The non-San groups include the Yei (Wayei, BaYei), Hambukushu (BaMbukushu), Dxeriku (BaGcereku), Bakgalagadi, Herero and the Batawana (Tlou, 1976, 1985; Bolaane 2013). The Bayei, Hambukushu and Dxeriku are Middle-Zambezi Bantu-speaking peoples (Tlou, 1976, 1985; Bolaane 2013).

Archaeological research has demonstrated that from AD 500 onwards farmers of Bantu origin continuously occupied parts of Ngamiland (Wilmsen, 1989). Historically, the BaYei were the first Bantu-speakers to emigrate to the Okavango Delta from their home in DiYei, also called Ngasa, which is the area just east of the confluence of the Zambezi and the Chobe rivers, now within Caprivi Strip (Tlou, 1976, 1985). They migrated from their home along the Zambezi River into the Okavango-Chobe area in the 1750s and settled on the rivers, islands and the margins of the Okavango Delta (Tlou, 1976, 1985). Today the BaYei are found in Tubu, west of the Delta, and southwards of the Delta in Gumare, Nokaneng, Makakung and Seronga. Some of the Bayei are found in the eastern part of the Delta in Sankuyo, having left DiYei through the Savuti channel, which then linked the Chobe and Lake Mababe and reached Mababe (Tlou, 1985). They have traditionally engaged in mixed economies of millet and sorghum agriculture, fishing, hunting and the collection of wild plant foods and limited pastoralism (Tlou, 1985; Bolaane, 2013). According to oral traditions, these migrations were gradual, spreading over a long period and usually the groups were often small (Tlou, 1985).

The Hambukushu are said to have immigrated in large numbers into Ngamiland areas of Gabamukuni, Sepopa and Shakawe during the reign of King Letsholathebe I (1847- 1874), and more especially in Moremi II's time (1876 – 1890) (Tlou, 1976). Another migration into Ngamiland occurred in 1895 due to succession struggles followed by another one in 1970, due to colonial wars raging in southern Angola and the Caprivi Strip and resettled in Gumare (Tlou 1985; Bolaane 2013). Today the Hambukushu are found in Gumare, Sepopa, Etsha and Shakawe.

The Batawana settled in Ngamiland around 1785 after a major split in the Ngwato chiefdom (Bolaane, 2013). The two brothers, Khama I and Tawana quarrelled over the succession to chieftainship which led Tawana to secede and founded his state in Ngamiland where his followers took the name Batawana, while the Khama's people retained Bangwato (Bolaane, 2013). The two groups still regard themselves as one group. In fact, the Batawana regard the Bangwato as their senior and use the Ngwato totem phuti (duiker) (Bolaane, 2013). The Batawana traditionally lived on the edges of the delta, practicing crop cultivation and large-scale pastoralism. Just like other Tswana-speaking groups, the Batawana lived mainly in one central place, a village or town. They first settled at Kgwebe, Toteng, Tsau and finally established Maun as their capital in 1915 (Tlou, 1976).

The Batawana had strong political and administrative system which included monarchy, as well as courts of laws and an economy based on large scale animal husbandry. This enabled them to dominate the people they found already settled in Ngamiland with very little difficulty (Bolaane, 2013). Their chief became the paramount chief in the region, with other ethnic groups incorporated into the Tawana political structure (Bolaane, 2013: 23). The Batawana claimed all land in Ngamiland. By 1849, as indicated by Livingstone during his visit to Lake Ngami, they had claimed all land southwards to Ghanzi, northwards to the Mababe Depression and Gabamukuni area and eastwards to Boteti (Bolaane, 2013: 24). The Okavango Delta has therefore been under the political control of the Batawana since the 19th century. The Batawana used part of the delta, the area around Khwai as their hunting ground. They received tribute from Basarwa and Bayei in the form of elephant tusks, precious skins from Carnivores like lions and leopards which were considered royal animals. They even built a kraal at Old Khwai that was used by the chief and his party during their hunting expedition (Bolaane, 2013). The Basarwa acted as guides for the hunting expeditions of Batawana as they knew the land best. The control of land and its resources such as wildlife in Ngamiland and in particular, the Okavango Delta, by the dominant Batawana group is very important in this study, as it contributes to the understanding of the evolution of the conservation and

management system of the Okavango Delta as we see it today and the involvement of indigenous and local people in its management.

The Herero and Mbanderu settled in Ngamiland during the 1904 – 1905 German-Herero war (Tlou, 1976). They settled around Makakung and Gumare-Sehithwa areas (Tlou, 1976). Even though they did not bring cattle with them, traditionally as pastoralists they managed to build their herds by serving the Batawana (Bolaane, 2013). They still had a link with their original homes and as such when Namibia gained independence, some returned to their land of origin (Bolaane, 2013).

2.4 History of Conservation

2.4.1 Pre-colonial period

The conservation and management of the Okavango Delta has benefitted from the different groups that occupied and continued to occupy the area. It is however important to note that very little has been documented on the way in which local communities conserved and managed the resources of the Okavango Delta, especially the earliest groups to settle in the area, the Basarwa, Bayei and Hambukushu.

The arrival of the Tswana speaking Batawana saw the establishment of their own system that subjugated pre-existing ones (Bolaane, 2013). They claimed all land in Ngamiland and controlled the resources including the Okavango Delta. They had traditional management systems which controlled and managed the use of the resources. The institution of hereditary chieftainship, laws and courts of laws and the Kgotla, an important decision making space made it easy for the Batawana to impose and manage their dominance (Bolaane, 2013). The Chief had advisors and elders who provided guidance to the chief on how to manage the affairs of the community including land use. Armed regiments (mephato) performed community services. It is these structures which the Batawana used to manage the Okavango Delta and its resources especially wildlife.

As such when game stocks declined due to the spread of firearms and depredations of white hunters, the Chiefs made some attempts to protect the endangered species through the establishment of royal hunting reserves and enactment of decrees. This was because the decline in game was seen as a direct economic loss. Chiefs like Khama of Bangwato and Sechele of Bakwena introduced hunting restrictions (see Table 2.1). In Ngamiland, the Batawana Chiefs kept Chiefs Island as an important royal hunting area.

Table 2.1: Decrees passed by Chiefs before the colonial period (Source: Moleele & Ntsabane, 2002:28)

YEAR	DECREE	TRIBE
1815	Ivory is the property of the Chief	Bangwaketse
1856	Hunting is prohibited on Sundays	Bakwena
1877	Capture of young ostriches is prohibited	Bangwato
1878	Hunting by European commercial hunters is prohibited, but permitted for sport hunters on personal application to the Chief	Bangwato

While these pre-colonial developments were significant, they had no role for San communities who were marginalised. As Taylor (2000: 94), puts it this approach to conservation related practice and policy often saw Basarwa as largely invisible to those with the power to make decisions affecting their livelihoods.

2.4.2 Colonial period

When Botswana became a protectorate in 1885, there existed a very strong traditional management system that governed the use of wildlife, land use and other important activities (Bolaane, 2013: 27). In 1894, Ngamiland became part of the British protectorate (Van de Post, 2006: 6). During the colonial period, indirect rule was implemented by the British with the consequence that the Colonial government ruled the protectorate indirectly through Chiefs who used their traditional systems of management (Moleele & Ntsabane, 2002; Bolaane, 2013). The chiefs used their traditional powers to make laws governing the use of wildlife within their tribal territories (Moleele & Ntsabane, 2002). During the protectorate period in the 1930s, different legal forms of land ownership pertained such as tribal reserves (property of individual tribes), crown lands (now called state land) and freehold land (private land) (Campbell, 2004; Moleele & Ntsabane, 2002) (see Figure 2.7).

Figure 2.7: Map Showing Legal Forms of Land Ownership in Bechuanaland Protectorate (Adopted from Campbell, 2004: 56)

The tribal reserves included the following; Batawana, Bangwaketse, Bangwato, Bakwena, Bakgatla and crown lands such as Ghanzi and Chobe (Bolaane, 2013). It is within these reserves that the recognised Chiefs made laws regarding conservation and management of natural resources. They also passed legislation which provided for tribal treasuries for receiving the tax money from hunting licenses (Bolaane, 2013). Statutory game laws introduced by the Protectorate Administration applied to foreigners

(Europeans) only and at the same time reinforced the customary and traditional law (Campbell, 2004; Bolaane, 2013). The Chiefs introduced and enforced game laws within their tribal territories (see Table 2.2).

Table 2.2: Decrees passed by Chiefs during the colonial period (Source: Moleele & Ntsabane, 2002)

YEAR	DECREE	TRIBE
1892	Hunting of giraffes and other big game is prohibited without permission from the Chief	Bakwena
1892	Hunting of ostrich is prohibited, but the Chief gave permission to hunt cock ostriches	Bangwaketse
1893	Hunting of elephants, giraffes, eland and other big game is prohibited without special permission from the Chief	Bangwaketse
1895	Hunting of giraffes, elands and other big game is prohibited without permission from the Chief	Bangwato
1898	The use of deadfalls, staked pits and traps on roads is prohibited. Hoofed game is to be caught only with jackal (iron) traps.	Bangwaketse
1910	Hunting of elephants is prohibited without permission from the Chief. Hunting of giraffes, buffalos, elands, rhinoceroses and hippopotamuses is prohibited	Batawana
1913	Immigrants obliged to obey the Chief's laws concerning the destruction of game. The killing of white storks and secretary birds is prohibited. Hyrax and guinea-fowls are totally protected on Serowe hill.	Bangwato
1920	Elephants are to be hunted only with permission from the Chief, and one tusk is to be given as tribute.	Batawana
1926	Hunting of big game east of the railway line is prohibited. Setting traps in other people's fields is prohibited.	Bakgatla
1936	Sale of lion and leopard skins to traders is prohibited.	Bakwena

1937	Hunting of giraffes and other Royal game is prohibited without permission from the Chief.	Batawana

The protectorate administration applied game laws previously enacted in South Africa to the protectorate to regulate the hunting and killing of wildlife (Moleele & Ntsabane, 2002). During the Protectorate period, there was no Department of Wildlife; day-to-day administration of wildlife matters was in the hands of District Commissioners and Chiefs under the supervision of the Resident Commissioner in Mafikeng (Campbell, 2004:55). However, increasing elephant population forced the administration to employ Major P. Bromfield to 'control' elephants and he created the 'Elephant Control Unit' in early 1957 (Campbell, 2004:58). According to Campbell (2004:58), in 1961, with the enactment of the Fauna Conservation Proclamation No. 22 of 1961, which provided for the declaration of Game Reserves, the Elephant Control Unit became the Game Department and a warden and other staff members were stationed at Chobe Game Reserve. Some of these laws are presented in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3: Game laws passed during the colonial period (Source: Moleele & Ntsabane, 2002)

YEAR	DECREE	SUMMARY OF MAJOR FUNCTION
1925	1925 Proclamation No.17 of the Bechuanaland Protectorate Game Proclamation	It repealed the Act of 1886 and its eleven subsequent active Proclamations (excluding the Phumage Birds Protection and Preservation Proclamation) and it made some amendments to existing laws on game.
1929	1929 Proclamation No. 48	It placed the burden of proof on the accused to prove that any game in his possession was not hunted in contravention of the law.
1930	1930 Proclamation No. 27	Introduced the forfeiture of firearms and ammunition found in possession of an accused at the time of commission of an offence on unlawful hunting
1932	1932 High Commissioner's Notice No. 53	Instituted an important new protected area, protecting both large and small-scale game for a period of three years in an

		estimated 15,550 km2 in Chobe District, which is part of the present Chobe National Park.
1934	1934 Proclamation No.74 Native Administration Proclamation	Empowered the Native Administration to issue through the Chiefs any order thought desirable for the protection and preservation of game
1940	1940 Proclamation No. 19,the Bechuanaland Protectorate Game Proclamation	It repealed Proclamation No. 17 of 1925 and its amendments and introduced new provisions in line with the 1933 London Convention.
1940	1940 High Commissioner's Notice No. 42	Extended the area protected under the1930 Proclamation No. 27 to include the 'whole of the Kgalagadi District' (for the first time native residents could be issued permits to hunt and kill game in reasonable quantities for food in this area)
1940	1940 High Commissioner's Notice No.107	The first Game reserve was established under Proclamation 19 of 1940 along the Nossop River
1950	1950 High Commissioner's Notice No.28	Brought into force the laws of Bechuanaland, game becoming Chapter 114; it consolidated the amendments enacted since 1940.
1960	1960 High Commissioner's Notice No. 65	Established the Chobe Game Reserve, protection of the area (under the 1932 High Commissioner's Notice No. 53) having lapsed since 1943.
1961	1961 Proclamation No. 22,the Fauna Conservation Proclamation	Further and better provision of the conservation and control of the wild animal life and to give effect to the international convention of 1933 as amended of the fauna and flora of African continent.

2.4.3 Post-colonial period

In 1966, when Bechuanaland gained independence from Britain and became the republic of Botswana, a national Conservation Policy was prepared and the need to develop wildlife, not only for its own aesthetic value, but also as a commodity of economic return was recognised (Campbell, 2004:61). The same year 1966, Game Department headquarters was moved from Francistown into the Ministry of Commerce and Industry in Gaborone, and both a Chief Game Warden and Senior Game Warden were appointed (Campbell, 2004: 61). In 1967, the Game Department was renamed the Department of Wildlife and National Parks, the Chief Game Warden became the Director, and additional wardens and game scouts were hired and a wildlife biologist (Campbell, 2004:61). The Fauna Conservation Act was amended and the National Parks Act was enacted, and finally it became possible to upgrade some Game Reserves and establish National Parks (Campbell, 2004:61). It was during this time that the Chobe Game Reserve acquired National Park status (Campbell, 2004). Some of the game laws passed during the post-colonial period are presented below (see Table 2.4).

Table 2.4: Game laws passed during the Post-colonial period (Source: Moleele & Ntsabane, 2002)

YEAR	DECREE	SUMMARY OF MAJOR FUNCTIONS
1967	1967 Act No. 47, the Fauna Conservation (Amendment) Act	Retained most of Proclamation No.22 and introduced some principal amendments
1967	1967 Act No.48,the National Parks Act	Introduced for the establishment of National Parks, for the preservation of wild animals, fish, vegetation and objects of scientific interest and for the control and management of such Parks (Chobe Game Reserve was declared a National Park by the Act).
1967	1967 Statutory Instrument No. 64	Promulgated the first Tribal Territory hunting regulations for the Bangwato Tribe hunting in the Tribal Territory
1968	1968 Statutory Instrument No. 4	Announced the first Controlled Hunting Areas in Kweneng District

1968	1968 Statutory Instrument No. 13	Exempted Remote Area Dwellers from the Batawana Tribal Territory Hunting Regulations (S.I. No.65 of 1967)
1968	1968 Statutory Instrument No. 23	Provided regulations for hunting in Controlled Hunting Areas on Tribal Land: these did not apply to members of a tribe hunting in their Tribal territory.
1986	1986 Wildlife Conservation Policy	Provided for the establishment of Wildlife Management Ares (WMA) and strategies for development of a viable and commercial wildlife sector in WMAs by the private sector and local communities for improvement of their livelihoods.
1992	1992 Wildlife Conservation & National Parks Act	Provides for the conservation and management of wildlife in Botswana

The idea of game reserve in the Okavango Delta originated in 1961 (Van de Post, 2006) due to the concern over diminishing numbers of wildlife as a result of overshooting by South African hunters (Bolaane, 2013). The idea of a game reserve was preceded by the formation of the Fauna Preservation Society of Ngamiland in 1963 (Campbell, 2004; Bolaane, 2013), which was later renamed the Fauna Conservation Society of Ngamiland (Bolaane, 2013). The objective of the society was to raise awareness among all sections of the Bechuanaland Protectorate community on the urgent need to preserve the heritage of fauna by promoting the establishment of national parks and game reserves (Bolaane, 2013:112). The argument put forward was that the people of Ngamiland should preserve the fauna for future generations and for people from Europe and America to come to Ngamiland to pay to see the rich fauna which they could see nowhere in the world (Bolaane, 2013). The advocates of the Society, emphasised financial benefits to be gained from game (Bolaane, 2013), hence the beginning of commercialisation of the wildlife resource in the early years of creation of game reserves. It is important to note that the Fauna Conservation Society of Ngamiland was advocated for and formed by a group of Africans mainly Batawana royals and their close associates and some white people and sanctioned by Mohumagadi Moremi (Bolaane, 2013). The meetings to discuss the formation of the society and subsequently the game reserve were mainly attended by these Batawana royals. During the discussions of forming the society and the game reserve, concerns were

raised regarding the voices of the other tribes in Ngamiland, in particular the Bayei, Herero, the San as they also have a voice in decisions made at the Kgotla (Bolaane, 2013: 91). The San were not represented in the Kgotla meetings of September 1962 and March 1963 and when the game reserve was created in 1963 (Bolaane, 2013). This emphasises that the absence of marginalised groups in conservation and management of natural resources dates back to the creation of Moremi Game Reserve, hence multivocality is very important in devising conservation and management strategy of the ODNWHS as it allows for the inclusion of marginalised voices. In fact, the San were not included in the committee of the society and the Herero and Bayei were only added as new members (Bolaane, 2013). It is ironic that the San elderly like Kwere Seriri were not part of the discussions of creating a game reserve, even though the envisaged area for the reserve was occupied by his people. What is even more ironic is that when the decision to create the game reserve was agreed, Kwere and the headmen of Mababe and Khwai guided the members of the society and the Batawana tribal elders in designating the boundaries of the game reserve. Within the first few years of creating the reserve, the protagonists of the Moremi Game Reserve who included the Batawana royals removed the San from the area and denied them access to the land even though the Batawana acknowledged that the Basarwa were there first and there was evidence of a long and close link of the San to the Okavango (Campbell, 2004; Bolaane, 2013). The Fauna Conservation Society of Ngamiland administered the game reserve (Campbell, 2004; Bolaane, 2013) until it was taken over by Government in 1979 probably due to centralisation and lack of resources by the society to manage the reserve (Bolaane, 2013). The conservation and management of Moremi Game Reserve which is part of the Okavango Delta is now under the management of the Department of Wildlife and National Parks in the Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and National Parks.

3.5 Conclusion

In summary, this chapter has shown that the Okavango Delta was continuously occupied by different groups who place importance on the different resources of the delta as far back as 100 000 years onwards. It has an ethnically mixed population comprising of hunter-gatherer San people and agro-pastoral Bantu peoples such as Bayei, Hambukushu, Herero and Batawana. Hunter-gatherers have occupied the southern periphery of the Okavango Delta for millions of years as evidenced by the presence of Early and Middle Stone Age tools found on or near the delta margins. Archaeological evidence show that from AD 500 onwards farmers of Bantu origin continually occupied parts of Ngamiland. Bayei were the first to arrive around the 1750s, Batawana around 1785, Hambukushu coming at different times, 1847, 1876, 1895, 1970 while the Herero arrived in the early 19th century during the 1904-1905 German-Herero war. The

Okavango Delta therefore has a long history of occupation by different groups, hence it is a rich historical and cultural landscape. Its conservation has benefited from the different groups that occupied and continued to occupy the area, hence the need to embrace the voices of the different groups in the management of the site. However, the chapter has shown that documentation regarding the history of conservation of the Okavango Delta by local communities especially marginalised communities such as the Basarwa, Bayei, Hambukushu and Herero is limited. Traditional management of heritage resources of Tswana-speaking communities dominate literature on heritage management especially on the conservation of natural resources such as wildlife. This chapter has shown that as far back as the 18th century, Chiefs of dominant Tswana-Speaking groups have passed decrees that protected wildlife in most cases without the involvement of marginalised communities. Furthermore, the chapter has revealed that this dominance by Tswana-speaking groups was reinforced during the colonial period and post-colonial period.

Chapter 3

Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

From the early 1990s, values-based approaches to heritage conservation have come to dominate academic and professional discourses (Fredheim and Khalaf, 2016). This is based on the understanding that both natural and cultural places are potentially heritage resources that have some value or use in the present or future. They are valued by elements of a community, by a whole community or by society as a whole. The degree and type of value will be different for various groups and individuals. Hence, according to Sullivan (2004), heritage management insists that all the values of a place, not just its primary values should be acknowledged and catered for and that the management planning should include the conservation of all these values.

However, it should be noted that even though the management of heritage has followed the values-based approach, it has in most cases not acknowledged all the heritage values of a place. This has been attributed to the way value typologies are designed and implemented and to the false dichotomies of cultural/natural, tangible/intangible heritage (Fredheim and Khalaf, 2016). In the case of World Heritage sites where the emphasis is on the conservation of universal values, the tendency has been to ignore and not acknowledge the local values of the sites. Hence, the need to look at heritage sites as landscapes and employ an integrated approach to values in multiple ways by those people who are closely associated with them (Stephenson, 2008). This chapter will therefore discuss the concepts of heritage, heritage value, heritage significance, World Heritage, landscapes, values-based approach, and local communities. These concepts will be used in the thesis in trying to understand and explain the management of the Okavango Delta. It will further discuss the history of heritage management in the global west as it is important to understand how these developments in heritage management have influenced heritage management in Africa and in particular Botswana. History of heritage management in Africa with particular reference to Botswana will be discussed, focusing on the pre-colonial colonial and post-colonial periods.

The chapter further discusses heritage management through the lens of international conventions, charters and intergovernmental organisations as these have influenced the concepts and practices of heritage management in the world, including Africa. Scholarly debates have been ongoing regarding the universalising of heritage values through international heritage instruments and how these led to the alienation of local values and involvement of local communities in the management of their heritage.

However, the chapter will also discuss how the concepts of heritage and World Heritage have changed through time and the way in which heritage management is practised.

3.2 Definitions

For an understanding of the background to this study, the following concepts need to be defined:

a) *Heritage*

Heritage, both cultural and natural, is part of every society and since time immemorial, communities in different parts of the world have always cared for and protected their heritage. Heritage exists physically as objects, buildings and landscapes, and in the form of memories, attitudes and imagination that endow the material manifestations with meaning (Capelo et al., 2011: 5). "The idea of what constitutes heritage has extended from individual buildings and monuments to much greater ensembles of human creations, such as cities and landscapes, many now protected as World Heritage sites" (de la Torre, 2005:13).

b) Values-based approach

A values-based approach is defined as one that seeks to identify, sustain and enhance significance and values of a place (de la Torre, 2005; Fredheim & Khalaf, 2016). As such, values and significance are central concepts to values-based management (de la Torre, 2005). The values-based theory is important in that it calls into question the notion that what is valuable about heritage is self-explanatory and uncontested (Fredheim & Khalaf, 2016).

c) Heritage values

Meanings and values attached to heritage resources and objects provide the very reason for conservation and for societies to retain objects because they have value for the members of that society (Fredheim & Khalaf, 2016). Heritage is valued not as an intellectual enterprise but because it has instrumental, symbolic, and other functions in society (Mason, 2002). As such, 'values' suggests usefulness and benefits (Mason, 2002). 'Heritage values', therefore, refers to the qualities and characteristics seen in things, in particular the positive characteristics (Mason, 2002). According to Fredheim & Khalaf (2016), heritage values are considered plural in recognition of the fact that heritage is considered significant for a range of different reasons. Heritage values are, by nature, varied, and they are often in conflict; are not simply found and fixed and unchanging, but are produced out of interaction of an artefact and its context (Mason, 2002:5). Values can thus be understood with reference to social, historical and even spatial contexts (Mason, 2002:2).

d) Heritage significance

Significance has been used to mean the overall importance of a site, determined through an analysis of the totality of the values attributed to it (de la Torre, 2005:5). Simply put, it is the overall value of heritage, or the sum of its constituent 'heritage values' (Fredheim and Khalaf, 2016).

e) Value typologies

A value typology is a framework that breaks down significance into constituent kinds of heritage value (Mason, 2002:9). Typologies will not be appropriate for all sites or situations, but they create a common starting point from which a modified typology can be constructed in a variety of heritage-planning situations (Mason, 2002:9). They are mostly used in assessments of significance for heritage management planning and conservation policy documents (Fredheim & Khalaf, 2016). According to Mason (2002), using a typology allows the views of experts, citizens, community, governments, and other stakeholders to be voiced and compared more effectively.

f) *Landscape*

Every country has landscapes that have been shaped by the interaction of people and nature over time. These landscapes are rich in traditional patterns of land use that have contributed to biodiversity and other natural values, have proven sustainable over centuries and are living examples of cultural heritage (Brown & Mitchell, 2000: 70). As such landscapes are valued for both their aesthetic appeal and their cultural evidence, the latter needing in-depth archaeological and historical studies to establish significance, understand content, and interpret meaning to the public (Aplin, 2007: 430). A full interpretation and understanding, however, also requires studies of the natural elements of the landscape and the impact of humans on it, thus potentially introducing a wide range of other disciplines (Aplin, 2007: 430). Hence, a landscape, as used in this context, is referred to as a relatively large area with cultural, ecological, environmental, and/or historical consistency (MacManamon, 2016:133).

Emerging trends in conservation and protected areas management set the stage for new approaches that engage local people in the stewardship of landscapes and embrace the interactions of people and nature (Brown & Mitchell, 2000: 70). One trend is that conservation strategies are becoming increasingly bioregional. The field of conservation biology has highlighted the need to work on the scale of ecosystems and the wider landscape to conserve biological diversity (Brown & Mitchell, 2000: 70). Another important change lies in how we view national parks and protected areas. Worldwide, there is growing recognition that protected areas can no longer be treated as islands, but must be seen in a larger context (Brown & Mitchell, 2000: 70). A third trend lies in our growing understanding of the link between nature and culture:

that healthy landscapes are shaped by human culture as well as the forces of nature, that rich biological diversity often coincides with cultural diversity, and that conservation cannot be undertaken without the involvement of those closest to the resource (Brown & Mitchell, 2000: 70).

g) Local communities

The Okavango Delta is home to local communities such as Bayei, Hambukushu, Herero, Bakgalagadi, Basarwa (San) and Batawana.

The definition of local community is broad and complex. In this context it is explained in relation to heritage. Pikirayi (2011) speaks of descent or descendant communities as those communities with ancestral connections to a particular cultural landscape or specific archaeological site and that these can be either local-descent communities or non-local descent communities. Local descent communities are those located within proximity of sites and non-local descent communities are linked or claim cultural links to certain cultural landscapes or archaeological sites, but live in another location, some distance away (Pikirayi, 2011:9, Chirikure & Pwiti, 2008, Schoeman & Pikirayi, 2011).

Furthermore, there are non-descent local communities living either on or close to a site who are not necessarily related to the site; these include land owners and local stakeholders with an economic interest in the area and others that can be referred to as "stakeholders" who may not be local in terms of residence or descent, but have a vested interest in the management of a given landscape (Chirikure & Pwiti, 2008)).

Although they have a strong residential bias, communities of all types must be understood in relation to local meanings and history. This is critical because people migrate, leaving their heritage behind, while new groups settle in, creating new heritage and relationships with the old one (Chirikure & Pwiti, 2008:2). According to Pikirayi (2011:17), in Southern Africa, non-local descent communities are perhaps in the majority, given the complicated histories of pre-European migrations and European land possessions leading to forced removals. In fact, the creation of protected areas in Southern Africa, such as Dongola Botanical Reserve in 1922 (Pikirayi, 2011), Kruger National Park in 1926 (Meskell, 2011), and Moremi Game Reserve in 1963 (Taylor, 2010; Bolaane, 2013), is part of the broader land alienation process that ostracised local-descent communities from their cultural landscape.

3.3 History of heritage management in the Global West

The current concept of heritage emerged in Europe, particularly Britain, France and Germany and was born from the development of nationalism and of a new modern Europe which was seen as universal (Sullivan 2006; Willems, 2009). The sense of the new modern Europe was to be expressed in the monuments that were to be protected and managed for the edification of the public, and as physical representations of national identity and European taste and achievement (Smith, 2006:33). This was done through the institutionalisation of museums as repositories and manifestations of national identity (Ndoro, 2001; Smith, 2006; Labadi, 2013) and development of concepts such as national antiquities and antiquarian societies (Willems, 2009). The local context and significance were of little interest and more emphasis was on the national significance (Willems, 2009).

According to Cleere (1989), the renaissance and the ensuing Enlightenment, with the revival of historical studies as a branch of learning, stemming from the Classical historians, created the relatively modern notion of cultural continuity, the linear view of history as distinct from the spiritual continuity of other communities. Contemporary societies were perceived as having cultural links extending back over time, so the relics of earlier phases were seen to be important documents in recording that continuity. As such they became worthy of conservation and protecting, hence the development of the concept of national monuments (Cleere, 1989:7). This basic philosophical tenet is now widely accepted in many countries of the world, and it underlies much modern heritage management (Cleere, 1989:7).

However, it is important to note that few countries, if any can lay claim to unbroken cultural continuity of any kind (Cleere, 1989:7). There have been traumatic cultural discontinuities in some countries, especially as a result of colonialism (Cleere, 1989:7). For example, in the USA a European culture was abruptly and fiercely imposed upon an indigenous culture (Cleere, 1989:7). The earlier European settlers were openly contemptuous of the Native Americans, and they made every effort, either deliberately or out of indifference, to erase the monuments of the pre-contact societies (Cleere, 1989:7).

Furthermore, the protection of these monuments was based on legislation which followed Roman law tradition which was dominant in many European countries and by extension to many of their former colonies as well (Willems, 2009:6)). In Roman law tradition much depends on the state, which regulates society and as such there is a tendency to adhere longer to exclusive stewardship of heritage resources by formal representatives of the state (Willems, 2009:6). For example, the Swedish Royal Proclamation of 1666 declared all objects from antiquity to be the property of the Crown (Cleere, 1989:1). The USA

enacted its Federal Antiquities Law in 1906 and the UK passed its first Ancient Monuments Protection Act in 1882 (Cleere, 1989:1). Most European countries enacted new antiquities legislation during the 1970s, to replace the outdated and ineffectual statutes of a less stressful pre-war era. The most recent is the Spanish legislation of 1985 (Cleere, 1989:4).

The care and protection of heritage was placed on professionals such as archaeologists, architects and historians and as such these monuments could only be appreciated by the educated (Ndoro, 2001; Smith, 2006). The caring and protection of these monuments is also reliant on knowledge claims of technical and aesthetic experts (Ndoro, 2001; Smith, 2006). Furthermore, it categorised heritage as 'cultural' and 'natural' (Meskell, 2011; Munjeri, 2004). The European or Western world emphasised heritage as 'untouched nature', 'pristine wilderness', unaltered monuments and their fabric (Ndoro, 2001; Smith 2006; Meskell, 2011). This clear cut between 'cultural' and 'natural' has often led to separate institutions managing the heritage; further emphasising that culture and nature are two separate entities.

As stated by Cleere (1989), ex-colonial powers often left newly independent ex-colonies a legacy of heritage management legislation, such as the British who during their two centuries of rule endowed India with 'excellent' protective legislation and well-organised antiquities services, both of which continued after independence in 1947. The same can be said for African countries colonised by European powers, such as Botswana and in Asia (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015).

3.4 History of heritage management in Africa with particular reference to Botswana

The practice of heritage management did not start with the European colonisation of Africa. The fact that Europeans found cultural and natural heritage intact in Africa meant that these survived because of some form of management (Ndoro, 2001, Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015). In most parts of Africa, traditional management systems were in place in pre-colonial times (Eboreime, 2008; Jopela, 2010). Sites such as Barotseland in Zambia were and are still under traditional management and conservation where the Barotse Chiefs, or indunas, have jurisdiction over site management (Musonda, 2005). In addition, heritage sites such as Timbuktu, Aksum, Great Zimbabwe, and Kilwa among others were not left to decay, waiting for 'discovery' by foreign heritage experts, but have been under a form of traditional management system (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015).

'Traditional' refers to cultural forms (customs, beliefs and practices) perceived by Africans as indigenous and having no perceptible Western influence (Jopela, 2010:17). Traditional management systems are defined as cumulative bodies of knowledge, practice and belief about the relationship of living beings

(including humans) with their environment that are generated, preserved and transmitted in a traditional and inter-generated context (Jopela, 2010:18, Taylor & Kaplen, 2005:1646). As a knowledge-practice-belief complex, traditional management systems include the worldview or religious traditions of a society as well as an unwritten corpus of long-standing customs (Berkes, Colding & Folke, 2000:1252).

In traditional management systems, the use of heritage assets (cultural or natural) is governed by customary rules or laws that are enforced by traditional custodians. Those people have the prime responsibility for organising the use and safekeeping of each heritage resources (Jopela, 2010:18). This includes enforcing social mechanisms (rites and taboos) to maintain respect for places that are culturally significant and sacred for the community (Berkes, Colding & Folke 2000; Mumma 2003, 2005). The objective of a traditional management system is generally to promote the sustainable use of both cultural and natural resources, and by the same token, safeguarding the qualities and values of the site (Munjeri, 2002; Edroma, 2003; Jopela, 2010).

The custody of monuments and sites tended to focus more on those places that were held sacred by indigenous peoples and local communities (Mahachi & Kamuhangire, 2003) for example the Mijikenda Kaya forests in Kenya. Their physical and spiritual defensive role was tightly controlled by the Kaya council of elders whose authority was based on supernatural powers derived from certain oaths that they have acquired (Githitho, 2005:63). Sacred places included rainmaking shrines, rock shelters, royal and chiefly burials, perennial springs, trench systems, tree groves, and forests with abundance of wild fruits or animals (Mahachi & Kamuhangire, 2003).

Most sites, however, did not have any form of stewardship. Their protection was based on respect of the sites by people living around them. As such, the management of heritage was also the responsibility of indigenous peoples and local communities (Mahachi & Kamuhangire, 2003). The respect for heritage sites was expressed in and strengthened by a set of rules, commonly referred to as taboos, especially what must be done and not be done at sacred sites (Mahachi & Kamuhangire, 2003). These are referred to as by-laws or unwritten legal instruments for the protection of heritage (Mahachi & Kamuhangire 2003; Mumma, 2003). For example, the Mijikenda Forests owe their existence directly to the culture, history and beliefs of the nine coastal Mijikenda ethnic groups (Githitho, 2005:63). The decline of the Kayas as settlements in the early twentieth century did not entirely lose their importance to the Mijikenda. Instead they became ritual centres and symbols of ethnic identity and unity. In addition, they were the storehouse of all medicines and the burial grounds of the ancestors and thus came to be considered as sacred (Nyamweru, 1998). Thus, the Kayas changed over time from sites of practical settlement to symbolic and

spiritual places (Githitho, 2005). Kaya elders used a system of oaths, taboos and curses as deterrents to activities that were forbidden (Githitho, 2005).

Pre-colonial management of heritage sites was also connected with religious functions and practices (Ndoro 2001; Mahachi & Kamuhangire, 2003). Such places were seen as sacred and protected by a series of taboos and restrictions. Sites such as Great Zimbabwe, Khami, Matobo Hills and Kasubi Tombs were regarded as sacred and protected by a series of taboos and restrictions and had custodians to protect them (Ndoro, 2001; Mahachi & Kamuhangire, 2003). African rulers preserved sacred areas and afforded them the highest protection using state resources. For example, King Lobengula preserved Khami as a place for rainmaking and had soldiers stationed at the monument most of the time (Ndoro, 2001:18). The Kasubi Tombs had been in the care and protection of the Buganda Kingdom. The Kasubi Tombs are located on the site of the former palace of King Muteesa I of Buganda. In 1884 the palace was turned into a burial place for the Buganda Kings and other members of the Royal Family who are buried outside the main tombs (Kigongo, 2005:33). According to Kigongo (2005), the most important values associated with the Kasubi tombs are the strong elements of intangible heritage. The site is the major spiritual centre for the Buganda who maintains strong links with their tradition (Kigongo, 2005:33). The Kasubi Tombs is still managed in the traditional way under the management of the Kingdom and the custodianship of the Nalinya, the Katikkiro, the Lubuya and the widows (Kigongo, 2005:33). Other cultural guardians such as spirit mediums and Abalongo (twins) also continue traditional practices. The spiritual beliefs provide protection for the site, as the Buganda fear the powerful Kabakas spirits, an intangible heritage shielding it from the pressures of twentieth century modernisation (Kigongo, 2005:33).

Furthermore, customs linked to traditional beliefs are still strongly defended on site. For instance, people are not allowed to turn their backs inside the main tomb Muzibu-Azaala-Mpanga, and shoes are removed out of respect and to keep the place tidy (Kigongo, 2005:36). In addition to the traditional beliefs, clans play important roles and bear great responsibilities for the preservation of the tradition of Buganda (Kigongo, 2005). For instance, the Ngeye (Colobus monkey) clan is responsible for thatching, the Ngo (leopard) clan is responsible for the design and decoration in the Royal enclosure, and the Nyonyi (bird) clan is responsible for the fireplace in the Royal court (Kigongo, 2005). The Buganda Tombs Site Committee is responsible for al., l the cultural heritage sites in the Kingdom and is responsible for their conservation and management. Under this committee, a works committee was created for the Kasubi Tombs and it does all the management and administration work for the conservation of the Kasubi Tombs (Kigongo, 2005).

Heritage management during the pre-colonial period was therefore characterised by taboos of heritage desecration, local community participation and state involvement (Mahachi & Kamuhangire, 2003).

The colonisation of Africa saw the imposition of Western concepts of heritage and heritage management in the way heritage was conceptualised and managed in Africa. The colonial period marked the development of legal institutions, but to an even greater extent, the concepts of protection and identification of heritage (Ngeri, 2005:11). For example, in Botswana, a number of proclamations were enacted to protect the heritage of the then Bechuanaland Protectorate (Campbell, 1998; Mmutle, 2005:49). These included the 1911 Bushmen Relics and Ancient Ruins Protection Proclamation and the 1934 Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiquities Proclamation (Campbell, 1998; Mmutle, 2005; Dichaba, 2010). As such sites of natural or historic interest could now be proclaimed as monuments and District Commissioners were asked to locate sites of importance (Campbell, 1998:30). This highlights the characteristic of heritage management where the selection of heritage of significance is entrusted to individuals. In addition, this aspect of the proclamation led to the publication of the first list of Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiquities in August 1938 (Campbell, 1998:30). This is another aspect of the colonial heritage management system later exported to the current management system whereby the National Museum Commissioner proclaims monuments by notice in the Government Gazette and publishes a register of National Monuments. Another list was published in 1951 and it included stone walling, mines, remains of early mission stations, rock paintings and engravings, Chiefs' graves and some individual trees (Campbell, 1998:30).

The creation of the Acts described above can be said to be the beginning of what might be called a monument-based heritage management approach (Dichaba, 2010), or as Smith (2006) calls it, Authorised Heritage Discourse, defining a range of natural and cultural features as monuments, basing this on scientific knowledge and entrusting this to a few individuals such as Resident Commissioners and institutions such as Public Works Department. During this time the care of monuments was given to the Public Works Department (Campbell, 1998). It can also be argued that this marked the beginning of the alienation of local communities from their heritage (Ndoro, 2001; Chirikure & Pwiti, 2008; Dichaba, 2010).

The issue of protecting heritage led to the introduction of protected areas (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015). Heritage was categorised as cultural and natural, thus leading to establishment of separate institutions managing the heritage. Legislation was passed for the protection of the heritage and this was separate for both cultural and natural heritage. Monuments and sites were declared national monuments and managed, conserved and protected by the State through its formal institutions and legislation (Pwiti &

Ndoro, 1999; Ndoro, 2001). For instance, the Historical Monuments Commission of Rhodesia was instrumental in identifying and protecting heritage assets in what is now Zimbabwe, and Antiquities Departments were established in Kenya, Ghana and Nigeria, among others (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015). The efforts of these State institutions were complemented by organisations such as IFAN (Institut Francaise d'Afrique Noire), which was established in Dakar for the purpose of conducting research in French West Africa, and the British Institute of Eastern Africa played a similar role in most of southern and eastern Africa (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015).

In Botswana, the 1934 Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiquities Proclamation made it possible for the Resident Commissioner, by notice in the Gazette, to proclaim as monuments areas of land which are historical, scenic, of geological or archaeological interest, or contain interesting fauna or flora (Campbell, 1998:30). The definition of what heritage was, and how it was to be protected, differed from one colonial power to the other (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015). For example, in the British colonies the emphasis was largely on archaeological sites whilst in the French areas the emphasis was on the architectural heritage (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015). It is important to note that Southern Africa and East Africa were dominated by British colonies while the French were mostly in West and Central Africa (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015). Areas regarded as rich in wildlife or wilderness in nature were declared protected areas. In most cases local communities were removed from their ancestral lands to pave way for the conservation and management of heritage sites (Pwiti & Ndoro, 1999; Ndoro, 2001; Meskell, 2011). They were therefore denied access to their heritage and could not use it and protect it as they have always done. Heritage management, therefore in most colonised African countries, in particular Southern Africa, ignored and marginalised the values that local communities attach to their heritage, and traditional ways of caring and protecting their heritage.

Following decolonisation, the need to restore lost cultural values and pride and forge new cultural identities has been part of the post-colonial agenda of most African nations (Pwiti & Ndoro, 1999:143; Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015). This has seen the initiation of different cultural revival programmes including the promotion of traditional dance companies, drama groups, music, and cultural institutions such as museums (Ndoro & Pwiti, 1999:143). In fact, the development of museums as education centres and custodians of heritage has been seen as an important part of the process of cultural revival (Ndoro & Pwiti, 1999). For instance, in Botswana shortly after independence in 1968, the National Museum was established as a government department responsible for the protection and management of cultural and natural heritage and as an education centre for educating Batswana about their heritage (Mmutle, 2005;

Dichaba, 2010). The National Museum runs a mobile museum education programme (Pitse ya naga mo Maotwaneng) to schools and a radio programme called Motswedi wa Ditso to educate the public on the heritage of Botswana. However, the development of museums has been criticised as a western European style which present African heritage as static and therefore as meaningless to the people they are meant to serve (Ndoro & Pwiti, 1999). Also, these have been centralised in major urban areas very far from the people they are meant to serve, for example the National Museum in Botswana is located in Gaborone, and for a long time the department has managed heritage sites from there. It is only recently, through its monument development programme, that the Department is decentralising heritage management through the establishment of regional offices and site museums and offices at some of the national monuments.

In addition, in some countries such as Botswana, Kenya and Nigeria, there has been the development of community museums also meant to restore cultural values and pride. In Botswana, these include Khama III Memorial Museum in Serowe, Nhabe Museum in Maun, Phuthadikobo Museum in Mochudi, to mention a few.

The development of archaeological sites as cultural education centres is seen as another effective solution to the problems of cultural revival and preservation (Ndoro & Pwiti, 1999:144). According to this strategy, sites may be developed for use by local people as well as for tourism purposes (Ndoro & Pwiti, 1999). Such sites may become cultural centres for locals, who are assumed to identify with them as an important part of their past, which continue to be an active part of their present. For instance, in Botswana, Domboshaba National Monument hosts an annual cultural festival for the Kalanga people who associate with the site, Dithubaruba Cultural festival organised around the heritage site of Ntsweng associated with Bakwena hosted by the Kgosi Sechele Memorial Museum, and the Tsodilo Hills, used by the local communities for tourism purposes.

However, despite these efforts, the majority of heritage legislation continues to reflect the management systems introduced during the settler colonial era (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015). For example, in Botswana, the enactment of the 1967 National Museum, Monuments and Art Gallery Act, the 1970 Monuments and Relics Act (Cap 59:03) and the 2001 Monuments and Relics Act (Cap 59), still reflect some elements of the management systems introduced during the colonial period. In fact, very little has been done to change the legislation, the administrative and the governance structures to accommodate the traditional institutions, the local communities, the values they attach to their heritage and their traditional knowledge systems and practices of managing their heritage. Ndoro and Wijesuriya (2015) further argue

that fundamental legislation and the way sites are managed still closely resemble the patterns and principles established during the colonial era, which focus primarily on monumental heritage. For instance, the 2001 Monuments and Relics Act of Botswana still reflects the colonial legacy of defining and protecting monuments for their aesthetic, archaeological and scientific values. The Act does not provide for the intangible values, spiritual or ritual values of monuments, as a result alienating local communities from their heritage. It further cemented the ownership of heritage by the state and the control of access to heritage places through institutions such as the Museum and identification and protection of heritage by experts.

Hence, the current administration and management of heritage in most countries in Sub-Saharan Africa is vested in centralised government heritage administrators. Some are departments of ministries while others are parastatals autonomous of ministries, but all are run directly or indirectly by government ministries (Mahachi & Kamuhangire, 2003). For instance, management of heritage in Zimbabwe is the responsibility of the National Museum and Monuments of Zimbabwe, in Kenya is the National Museums of Kenya and in Zambia is the National Heritage Conservation Commission and in Botswana the National Museum and Monuments. The National Museum & Monuments of Botswana manages heritage sites or monuments through the Archaeology and Monument Development division under three regional offices established in 2008 (personal observation). Prior to that, in the 1980s, the management of monuments was through the three divisions of Archaeology, Ethnology and Natural History as influenced by the way monuments were defined in the MRA of 2001 (Dichaba, 2010). The Archaeology division managed archaeological monuments (Tsodilo Hills, Old Palapye), Ethnology division managed monuments constructed by man that had historical significance (Three Dikgosi Monument, Sir Seretse Khama statue in front of parliament) and Natural History division managed ancient natural monuments (Gcwihaba Caves, Mogonye Gorge and Moremi Gorge) (Dichaba, 2010).

Heritage sites are the property of government. They are protected monuments and national parks and have legislations to protect them, in most cases separately as ‘culture’ and ‘nature’. Since heritage sites are now owned and controlled by government, access to the sites is regulated by these institutions. In countries such as Botswana, the National Museum has employed site custodians at some of the National monuments to regulate access and protect the sites. The department has since built entrance gates/gatehouses to regulate access and even charge fees for access. However, an important aspect of this development is that these are done in collaboration with local communities through their community based organisations and they are the ones who receive the entrance fees such as in Tsodilo and Lekhubu

Island in the Makgadikgadi area. However, in some countries such as Zimbabwe and Kenya they also control access to sites and the government get revenue accrued from entrance fees.

Immediately after independence, many of the African countries passed new legislation for heritage protection by simply adopting the legislation used during the colonial period simply by making little amendments. Some countries such as South Africa have enacted legislation that considers the current trends in heritage management as influenced by the concerns of local communities and international conventions and charters, while others like Zimbabwe still use outdated legislation adopted from the colonial period, the 1972 National Museums and Monuments Act (Ndoro and Wijesuriya, 2015). However, even those like Botswana which amended theirs in 2001, has still retained some elements of the colonial legislation and have not fully incorporated the current trends and concerns in the concept of heritage and heritage management (Ndoro & Abungu, 2008).

The care, protection and management of heritage sites is vested upon experts or professionals and is mainly based on scientific knowledge and research. Legislations enacted made provision for the employment of experts such as curators in different fields as archaeology, history, education, ethnology, anthropology, architecture and conservation in the institutions it created such as museums. They conduct research on the heritage and make decisions on their conservation and management, in most cases without the involvement and participation of local communities who associate with the heritage. This is because heritage managers assumed that local communities are irrelevant to a 'scientific' approach of managing their own heritage (Ndoro, 2001). In fact, most legislations passed after independence do not make provision for the involvement of local people in making decision about management of their heritage (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015). For those countries such as Botswana, where it is mentioned, it makes provision for local communities to benefit economically from the heritage, hence the recent trends in heritage management are focused on the economic benefits of heritage to local communities, ignoring the acknowledgement and conservation of the local values of heritage and the use of indigenous knowledge or traditional management systems of heritage in conservation and management of heritage. Actually, the local communities are still regarded as passive participants who rely on the experts to involve them. Now the emphasis is on the economic values through tourism over other values of heritage sites. This has created conflict in management of heritage sites such as Moremi Gorge, as argued by Dichaba (2010).

As such the management of monuments or heritage in Botswana has also been influenced by the introduction of Community Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM), which provides for the

development of ecotourism at monuments (Dichaba, 2010:33). This is influenced or emphasised by the MRA as under section 6 (c) it requires the Inspector of Monuments to "secure the utilisation of any national monument, monument, relic, recent artefacts or protected heritage as part of the cultural or natural heritage of Botswana for the benefit of the community". As a result of this, the National Museum adopted the CBNRM programme which started mainly as wildlife based programme, to ensure that communities utilise cultural and natural monuments for their benefits. As such, management of heritage sites in Botswana, both cultural and natural has employed community conservation programmes that allow local communities to conserve and manage their heritage resources and derive socio-economic benefits from them through the CBRNM programme. The whole concept of conservation in Botswana was revolutionised by two policy papers which advocated for transfer of part of decision making process from government to local communities, the Wildlife Conservation Policy of 1986 and the Tourism Policy of 1990. The two policies provided a legal framework and advocated for greater involvement and participation of rural communities in conservation to cultivate a spirit of ownership and ultimately responsibility for the wildlife resource (Thakadu, 1997:22; Keitumetse, 2009).

CBNRM is now seen as an established and mainstream approach to rural development and conservation throughout Africa, especially southern, central and eastern Africa where governments have instigated CBNRM programmes that emphasises community participation in and benefit from conservation initiatives (Taylor, 2000; Thakadu, 2010). In Botswana the CBNRM initiative started in 1989 with a pilot project in the Chobe Enclave communities and was extended to Ngamiland in xxx and started in Khwai village.

During the colonial period and even post-colonial period, the interaction of humans with natural resources was disturbed through alienation. This led to negative attitudes and perceptions of people towards wildlife and cultural heritage sites due to the centralisation of wildlife conservation and heritage sites management, which included the establishment of protected areas (Mbaiwa, 2005). The establishment of Moremi Game Reserve led to the relocation of people of Khwai and isolated them from their traditional settlements and disposed them of their cultural ownership and connection to their natural resources (Mbaiwa, 2005; Madzwamuse, 2005; Taylor, 2007; Bolaane, 2014). It is therefore argued that the advent of co-management initiatives with local communities in Africa in the form of CBNRM has partly contributed to the restoration of traditional relationships (Mbaiwa, 2007: 11). This is because CBNRM scholars credit the local communities as having a greater understanding of as well as vested interest in their local environment; hence they are seen as abler to effectively manage natural resources particularly

through local and traditional practices and customs (Mbaiwa, 2005). The argument brought forward by scholars of CBNRM was that it offered an opportunity for local communities to manage and control the use of natural resources in the area using their traditional knowledge and management systems. The biggest challenge for CBNRM has been that its facilitation process is driven mainly by state agencies, especially the Ministry of Environment, Natural Resources Conservation and Tourism through the Department of Wildlife and National Parks Community Support & Outreach Division.

Despite these developments, Keitumetse (2009) argues that the history of natural resources management in Botswana indicates disconnection between the conventional 'environment' and the historic environment imbued with cultural and heritage resources and that the same pattern is evident in international resources management approaches such as that of UNESCO. Furthermore, these have resulted in eco-tourism models solely focused on natural resources excluding meaningful incorporation of heritage and cultural resources further disconnecting these resources from the overall 'environmental approaches' (Keitumetse, 2009:239).

The discussions above have demonstrated that natural resources management approaches in Botswana have failed to recognise the link between culture and nature heritage resources. According to Keitumetse (2009), programmes such as CBNRM (early 1990s) and consequently tourism (1990) and conservation policies in Botswana (1992) have replicated the same approaches of natural resource management; hence the neglect of cultural heritage values in the management of protected areas such as the Okavango Delta. As a way forward, communities' meaningful participation within frameworks such as the CBNRM could be enhanced through a focus on human-environment interactions (histories and archaeologies of protected wilderness areas, sacred landscapes), exploitation of local indigenous knowledge systems associated with these 'cultural landscapes' (traditional plants and associative traditions and cultural uses (Keitumetse, 2009:239).

This section has shown that despite the fact that African countries have gained independence from their former colonisers, they have failed to develop a modern heritage management system that embrace the peculiar nature and concept of the continent which is rooted in its traditional management systems. In the African context, nature and culture are interdependent, tangible and intangible, heritage influence each other, heritage is regarded as living heritage, not as static. However, legislation in most African countries has not embraced these aspects, sites are still seen from the concept of monuments and the fabric is the main thing to protect, rather than the intangible aspect of the heritage. The management of

heritage is still the sole responsibility of experts and their heritage institutions and where local communities are involved, decisions are still made for them and economic benefits through tourism is seen as the only way of engaging communities. In fact, it is very rare to see communities making decisions about the conservation and management of their heritage based on their traditional knowledge systems and local structures.

3.5 The Concept of World Heritage and the 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention

The World Heritage concept is based on the notion that some heritage is of outstanding universal value or interest and therefore need to be preserved as part of the World Heritage of mankind as a whole (Operational Guidelines, 2013; Cleere,1989, 2003; Rao 2010; Labadi, 2012; Meskell, 2015). The World Heritage Convention categorises World Heritage as cultural, natural, mixed or cultural landscapes. It is further categorised as mixed if it satisfies a part of the whole of the definitions of both cultural and natural heritage as laid out in Articles 1 and 2 of the convention (Operational Guidelines Para 46, 2015).

The concept of World Heritage is a product of the west's heritage management values and systems and is a part of the concept of western civilisation and evolved with the evolution of the global community (Sullivan, 2004: 50; Labadi, 2007). It emphasises the universalist framework which is usually Eurocentric and which generalises and simplifies the complexity of different cultures (Labadi, 2007; Willems, 2009).

The 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention concerning the protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage has influenced the practice of heritage management in Africa (Sullivan, 2003; Taylor, 2004; Smith, 2006; Chirikure & Ndoro, 2009). The convention has established the agenda for the conservation and protection of heritage resources of Outstanding Universal Value (Ndoro, 2001; Smith 2006; Chirikure & Ndoro 2009; Meskell, 2013) and has confirmed the presence of heritage as an international issue (Smith, 2003; Munjeri 2005). The implementation of the convention is guided by Operational Guidelines which are constantly revised to meet the changing needs of heritage management (Willems, 2009; Meskell, 2013). For example, the Convention has been revised to improve understanding and implementation of the concept of authenticity and to address the changing nature of the concept of heritage and the role of local communities in the conservation and management of heritage.

During the early years of the convention, the definitions of cultural and natural heritage were modelled on the 'masterpiece' concept and taking central stage was 'monumentality', 'aesthetic' and 'unspoiled' heritage (Cleere, 2001; Sullivan, 2003; Munjeri, 2005; Labadi, 2005, 2007, 2013). Thus, the essentially

anthropological and other knowledge systems and practices took a backstage to the intangible heritage and over time this led to the low number of African sites on the World Heritage List (Cleere, 2001; Munjeri, 2005). Hence we also see that the early list of World Heritage sites is dominated by grand monumental, aesthetic, artistic and rich historic places and most pristine and untouched natural areas (Cleere, 2001; Ndoro, 2001; Labadi, 2007, 2012; Willems, 2009).

However, the definition of World Heritage has broadened over the years and now includes cultural landscapes which represent combined works of nature and of man (Operational Guidelines Para 47, 2015). The 1972 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage recognises traditional systems of heritage management and values which they represent (Sullivan, 2003; Chirikure & Ndoro, 2009; Rossler,2004, 2006). According to Rossler (2004:46), the convention provides an opportunity for the conservation of sites with both tangible and intangible heritage and for cultural landscapes as combined works of nature and man.

The convention not only embodies tangible and intangible values for both natural and cultural heritage, it also acknowledges in its implementation the recognition of traditional management systems, customary law and long established practices to protect cultural and natural heritage (Rossler, 2004:46). Since 1992, many cultural landscapes have been nominated and included in the World Heritage list (Rossler, 2004, 2006; Jokilehto, 2011), for example, Tongariro National Park in New Zealand as an associative cultural landscape, Stonehenge (United Kingdom) as a relict cultural landscape, and Sukur Cultural Landscape (Nigeria) as an associative cultural landscape managed and protected by customary law (Rossler, 2004:46, 2006).

The Operational Guidelines of the Convention allow for concepts of living sites, cultural landscapes, and traditional management practices. The guidelines also indicate that the State Party should adopt general policies to give the heritage a function in the life of the community (para 15b). It further states under the Strategic Objectives of the World Heritage Committee, revised in 2002, the need to “enhance the role of communities in the implementation of the World Heritage Convention” (Para 26). Even for natural heritage, recognition of involvement of local communities in site management has benefitted from the changing concept of cultural heritage, but many of these sites are still not listed on the basis of the important interaction between the people and the environment that contributed to their protection, hence the focus of this research (Rossler, 2004, 2006). Rossler (2004, 2006) therefore argues that an inclusive approach is crucial for the designation and management of sites of OUV for the benefit of people living in and around these sites, the conservation community and humanity as a whole.

The recognition of local values and the involvement of local communities in management of World Heritage sites using their traditional management systems have proved to be effective in some parts of the world such as West Africa, East Africa and Australia where both traditional and modern management systems are used. Munjeri (2005) argues that sustainability of cultural and natural heritage is only achievable if there is harmony between international law, domestic law and customary law.

In Nigeria, in the north, a Western-derived municipal system co-exists with Islamic law while in most parts of the south, African customary law and practices sanctioned by traditional rites and rituals operate together with canonical codes and Western legal systems (Munjeri 2005; Eboreime, 2005). An example is the Sukur Cultural Landscape in Nigeria, the first to be nominated as a Cultural landscape in Africa, whose protection is anchored on the three pillars of International law; World Heritage Convention, Domestic Law (the National Commission for Monuments Act) and the Customary Law and Traditional Management (centred on the Hidi) (Munjeri 2005: 28; Rossler, 2004, 2006). According to Rossler (2006), "the sites encompass the Hidi's Stone Henge Palace i.e. the dwelling place of the spiritual-political paramountcy, dominating the villages below, the terraced fields and their sacred symbols with stone-paved walkways linking the lowland to the graduated plateau". The landscape also features unique architectural elements, stone corrals for feeding domestic stock, graveyards, stone gates as well as vernacular stone settlement clusters with homestead farms, all in the midst of rare species of flora and fauna (Rossler, 2006:346). It is a remarkably intact physical expression of a society and its spiritual and material culture (Rossler, 2006:346). World Heritage sites such as the Kasubi Tombs in Uganda, the Mijikenda Forests in Kenya and Timbuktu in Mali are managed using both the traditional knowledge systems and traditional custodianship systems, and these have proved to be effective in maintaining both the universal and local values of the sites and maintaining the physical or tangible aspects of the sites. For instance, the Kasubi Tombs is still managed in the traditional way under the management of the Kingdom and the custodianship of the Nalinya, the Katikkiro, the Lubuya and the Widows (Kigongo, 2005:33).

East Rennell, a natural World Heritage site in the Solomon Islands, is managed through traditional management systems. However, the site is experiencing management problems since it was inscribed on the World Heritage list (State of Conservation Report). This might be due to the fact that the traditional management systems in its own might not be effective, looking at the modern development context. According to Mumma (2003:41), resource use has become commercial in orientation and the pressures of commercialisation, backed by State sanctions, have proved more than the community-based legal systems can sustain, because they were developed during a time of limited demand for resources.

Heritage management is about identifying the values of the site and the threats to the values and how these can be addressed to protect the values. In the case of East Rennell, some of the threats may not be effectively addressed using only the traditional knowledge and practices, hence the need to reinforce that with scientific knowledge and modern legislation. As such it is important to note that traditional management systems and State-based modern management systems have their limitations and are not always effective on their own due to different factors.

This study therefore seeks to show that the listing of the Okavango Delta as a pristine and untouched wilderness natural World Heritage site, ignoring the local values, the cultural heritage might have been an oversight that need to be corrected.

3.6 Universalising heritage conservation: conventions, charters and intergovernmental international organisations

The practice of heritage management has also been influenced by international charters and conventions and intergovernmental organisations (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015; Keitumetse, 2016). These charters, conventions and intergovernmental organisations have universalised the concept of heritage values, and set out influential guidelines for their conservation, protection and management at international level (Sullivan, 2004; Smith, 2006; Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015; Keitumetse, 2016).

In addition to the 1972 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage discussed above, these include the Venice Charter of 1964, the Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance 1999 (Burra Charter), the Nara Document on Authenticity (1994) and the UNESCO 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, Ramsar Convention of 1971 and the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) of 1992 (Jokilehto, 1998, 2006; Ndoro, 2001; Munjeri, 2005; Chirikure & Ndoro, 2009). It also includes intergovernmental organisations such as the ICCROM (International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property), the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) (Taylor, 2004; Meskell, 2013).

The International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, commonly known as the Venice Charter of 1964 has set forth principles of conservation based on the concept of authenticity and the importance of maintaining the historical and physical context of a site or building

(Jokilehto, 1998; Taylor, 2004; Meurs, 2007). However, it has been criticised as too strongly based on European cultural values and thus not sufficiently universal to be unequivocally deployed in societies outside Europe and European-based cultures (Jokilehto, 2006) and identifying cultural heritage as monumental architecture which is a Western construct (Jerome, 2008:4). According to Waterton et al., (2006), "it may be understood as the international repository of the authorised heritage discourse" (AHD). Despite this criticism, it is still one of the most influential international conservation documents (Waterton et al., 2006).

African thought differs from the general European approach in its emphasis of the strong relationship with community and environment (Jokilehto, 2006; Munjeri, 2001). All heritage of humanity has its intangible dimension, whether a work of art, a historic building, a historic town, or a cultural landscape (Jokilehto, 1998:5). It is important to note that in the post-modern era of preservation, the anthropological view of cultural heritage has gradually superseded that of the monumental (Bouchenaki, 2003; Jokilehto, 2006; Jerome, 2006). This shift substantially broadened the definition of cultural heritage to incorporate a wide range of tangible and intangible expressions of authenticity (Jerome, 2006). It led to the redefinition of the concept of authenticity during a conference held in Nara Japan, 1994 organised by ICOMOS and Japan (Munjeri, 2004; Jerome, 2006). This resulted in the Nara Document on Authenticity (1994) (Jokilehto, 1998; Jerome, 2006). The Nara Document addresses the various views of authenticity within different cultures as is the case with Japan which initiated the discussion due to its tradition of maintaining traditional wooden temples by periodically dismantling them to replace deteriorated fabric and rebuilding, using the original construction technology (Logan, 2001; Jerome, 2006; Stovel, 2008). The Nara Document sought to improve the Venice Charter by affirming that authenticity is a cultural construct, and that authenticity of tradition, a type of intangible heritage also has value (Jokilehto, 1998; Jerome, 2006; Meurs, 2007). The originators of the Nara Document wished simply to extend the range of attributes through which authenticity might be recognised (Stovel, 2008). It therefore further states under Article 13 of the Nara Document that *"depending on the nature of the cultural heritage, its cultural context, its evolution through time, authenticity judgements may be linked to the worth of a great variety of the sources of information. Aspects of the sources of information may include form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, and spirit and feeling, and other internal and external factors"*.

According to Stovel, (2008:9-10), Logan (2001), and Jokilehto (2006), the Nara Document also at a more profound level created the conceptual conditions to legitimise Japanese and many other culturally

embedded conservation practices like that of Africa by recognising that" all *judgements about values attributed to cultural properties as well as the credibility of related information sources may differ from culture to culture, even within the same culture. It is thus not possible to base the judgement of values and authenticity within fixed criteria. On the contrary, the respect due to all cultures requires that heritage properties must be considered and judged within the cultural contexts to which they belong".*

In fact, the World Heritage Operational Guidelines of 2005 fully incorporate the conclusions of the Nara Document to guide articulation of the section on authenticity (Stovel, 2008:15). The Nara Document is now accepted in the World Heritage circles/world, it has been used since the mid-1990s by the Advisory Bodies, the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, and the World Heritage Committee informally in the analysis of nominations to the World Heritage list (Stovel, 2008:15) and was formally adopted by ICOMOS General Assembly and became part of the body of doctrines supported and promoted by ICOMOS (Logan, 2001; Stovel, 2008). However, Stovel, (2008) argues that although much has been achieved through the Nara Document, there are still visible challenges, particularly in the World Heritage context, the limited understanding of the concept in those preparing nominations.

The Burra Charter 1999, originally drafted in 1979 by Australia ICOMOS, is a policy document designed to outline best practice within the Australian heritage management and conservation processes, but has since become an international standard for such processes (Waterton et al., 2006:340). Internationally, it is part of a suite of similar policy documents that form a regulatory genre chain aiming to guide practice and influence national public policy and governmental conservation practices (Waterton et al., 2006:341). The Charter has been revised substantially in 1999 to incorporate 'new ideas', especially the broadening of the conception of cultural significance to include not only fabric, but also use, associations and meanings. The revised charter also encourages the co-existence of cultural values, particularly when they are in conflict (Waterton et al., 2006:341). Furthermore, Article 5.1 of the Charter states that: "conservation *of a place should identify and take into consideration all aspects of cultural and natural significance without unwarranted emphasis on any one value at the expense of others".* This is also emphasised under Article 15.4 where it states that "*the contributions of all aspects of cultural significance of a place should be respected".*

The Burra Charter has been used as a reference point in promoting community inclusion in heritage conservation as stated under Articles 13 and 26.3 of the Charter (Waterton et al., 2006:340). The Burra Charter is important in that it emphasises the close link between people and heritage places and respect for the values they attach to the place, as stated under Articles 24.1 and 24.2. In this way it advocates for

indigenous peoples and local communities to have access and use of heritage places for their spiritual, ritual and ceremonial benefits something which they have been denied with the advent of formal heritage management systems.

However, while it is important to acknowledge that the revision of the Burra Charter forms part of an attempt to incorporate changing attitudes to community inclusion, participation and consultation, this attempt remains largely unsuccessful (Waterton et al., 2006:342). One of the primary reasons for this is that of discourse, and the uncritical acceptance of a dominant or authorised approach to heritage (Waterton et al., 2006:342). Waterton et al., (2006:347) argue that the Burra Charter invokes a sense of overarching authority and expertise in the use of passive and impersonal language, yet it attempts to deal with plurality and multivocality. They argue that this is contradiction as contemporary calls for community participation and the inclusion of diverse associative values and meanings do not sit comfortably within the overall tone of the document when placed together with traditional notions of authority and expertise (Waterton et al., 2006:347).

In applying the Critical Discourse Analysis approach to the Charter, Waterton et al., (2006), argue that some articles of the charter demonstrate the construction of community and non-expert participation as another area of technical concern for the expert to deal with or an audience for expert opinion rather than active participants. They further argue that the use of verbs such as 'offer', 'involve', 'oblige' and 'provide' relegate groups and individuals to audience status wherein they are required to 'understand' the significance of the place under the 'direction and supervision' of people with 'appropriate knowledge and skills', the 'experts (Waterton et al., 2006:349). The vagueness of 'where appropriate' also begs the question of who determines what becomes appropriate (Waterton et al., 2006:349). Therefore, attempts to activate non-experts through the inclusion of participatory clauses and recognition of multiple values thus remains textured in a process of creating passitivity that accentuates their subjection to the conservation and management process (Waterton et al., 2006:349).

In many African countries, government bodies and institutions engaged with heritage conservation and preservation have done very little to promote a greater inclusion of a range of often marginalised stakeholder groups into management processes (Mapunda & Lane, 2004; Waterton et al., 2006). The problem is that this is done within a dominant or authorised heritage discourse which privileges expert knowledge and authority over other stakeholders in making decisions about the conservation and management of heritage places (Smith, 2006). Smith (2006) points out that any attempts at engaging with community or stakeholder group must take into account the power relations that underlie the dominant

heritage discourse, as these may inadvertently work to discourage the equitable participation of those groups whose understanding of the nature of heritage are excluded from that discourse. It is also vital to understand how that discourse establishes the authority of certain speakers at the same time as marginalising others before any concrete sense of inclusion can be achieved (Waterton et al., 2006:340).

Although the management of heritage in Africa has been influenced by the Burra Charter and the Nara document, the implementation of the important aspects of these documents that speaks to the special nature of African heritage, as Munjeri (2000) puts it, has not been successful since heritage management in Africa is still rooted in the dominant authorised heritage discourse based on outdated heritage legislation which is influenced by the colonial concept of heritage and heritage management (Munjeri, 2005). Very few countries in Africa, except South Africa, have included the aspects of the Nara document and Burra Charter in their legislation and have even domesticated the World Heritage Convention (Munjeri, 2005; Abungu & Ndoro, 2008; Ndoro, 2008).

Other notable conventions are the Ramsar Convention of 1971 and the Convention on Biological Diversity of 1992. The Ramsar Convention has influenced the management of wetlands of international importance some of which are Natural World Heritage properties such as the Okavango Delta. The Ramsar Convention has over the years through its Conference of Parties (COP) meetings passed resolutions that acknowledge and recognise the cultural values of wetlands and the role of local communities in the management of wetlands such as Resolution IX.21 adopted in 2005 that takes into account the cultural values of wetlands (Keitumetse, 2016); Recommendation 6.3 of 1996 on involving local and indigenous people in the management of Ramsar Wetlands and Resolution VII.8 adopted in 1999 on guidelines for establishing and strengthening local communities and indigenous peoples' participation in the management of wetlands. Furthermore, according to Munjeri 2005:27, the Convention on Biological Diversity of 1992 is good for Africa and similar eco/ethno-based societies as it 'recognises the close and traditional dependence of many indigenous local communities embodying traditional lifestyles on biological resources and the sharing of equitable benefits arising from the use of traditional knowledge, innovations and practices relevant to the conservation of biological diversity and the sustainable use of its components.

In adopting the 2003 Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention, the UNESCO General Assembly considered the deep-seated interdependence between the intangible cultural heritage and the tangible cultural and natural heritage (UNESCO, 2003). It further considered that existing international agreements, recommendations and resolutions concerning the cultural and natural heritage need to be effectively enriched and supplemented by means of new provisions relating to the intangible cultural heritage.

Hence, the 2003 Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention is important in that it recognises the interdependence between intangible cultural heritage and tangible cultural and natural heritage and it augments the 1972 World Heritage Convention in safeguarding intangible cultural heritage. However, one might argue that the creation of a separate convention reinforces the separation of tangible and intangible heritage which makes management difficult as implementation of the conventions is separate.

The 2003 Convention is important in that it shifts both the measure and onus of safeguarding work to the cultural community itself (Kurin, 2006). Kurin (2006) argues that it is not preserved in states archives or national museums, it is preserved in communities whose members practice and manifest its forms. If the tradition is still alive, vital and sustainable in the community, it is safeguarded, but if it exists just as documentary record of a song, a video tape of a celebration, a multi-volume monographic treatment of folk knowledge, or as ritual artefacts in the finest museums in the country, it is not safeguarded (Kurin, 2006:12).

The role of intergovernmental organisations such as International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) and International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) in influencing heritage management in Africa cannot be overemphasised. These organisations have been instrumental in influencing the principles, techniques, and methods of conservation and management of heritage places (Logan, 2001; Taylor, 2004; Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015). It is these organisations which act as advisory bodies to the World Heritage Committee and hence have influenced the identification, protection, conservation and management of World Heritage properties (Meskell, 2013).

ICOMOS, which is a non-governmental professional organisation formed in 1965, is primarily concerned with the philosophy, terminology, methodology and techniques of cultural heritage conservation (Burra Charter, 1999; Logan, 2001, Meskell, 2013). It is UNESCO's principal advisor on cultural matters related to World Heritage (Logan, 2001; Meskell, 2013). Its work is based on the Venice Charter of 1964 and subsequent charters such as the Burra Charter of 1999 and the Nara Document of 1994. The specific role of ICOMOS in relation to the World Heritage Convention includes the evaluation of properties nominated for inscription on the World Heritage list (cultural and mixed), monitoring the state of conservation of World Heritage Cultural properties, and reviewing requests for international assistance submitted by State Parties, and providing input and support for capacity-building activities(OGs,2015).

IUCN was founded in 1948 and brings together national governments, NGOs, and scientists in a worldwide partnership. Its mission is to influence, encourage and assist societies throughout the world to conserve the integrity and diversity of nature and to ensure that any use of natural resources is equitable and ecologically sustainable (OGs, 2015). The specific role of IUCN in relation to the World Heritage convention includes evaluation of properties nominated for inscription on the World Heritage list (natural and mixed), monitoring of the state of conservation of World Heritage Natural properties and reviewing requests for international assistance submitted by States Parties, and providing input and support for capacity-building (OGs, 2015).

ICCROM is an international intergovernmental organisation established by UNESCO in 1956. Its functions are to carry out research, documentation, technical assistance, training and public awareness programmes to strengthen conservation of immovable and movable cultural heritage programme (OGs, 2015). The specific role of ICCROM in relation to the World Heritage convention includes being the priority partner in training for cultural heritage, monitoring the state of conservation of World Heritage Cultural properties, reviewing requests for international assistance submitted by States Parties, and providing input and support for capacity building (OGs, 2015). ICCROM which has served as the training ground for many heritage professionals since the early 1960s, trained experts to focus on the western model of conservation, who on their return to their home countries subsequently strengthened systems that had been propagated under colonial rule (Ndoro and Wijesuriya, 2015). It has been instrumental in capacity building in Africa through the Africa 2009 Programme. This programme trained heritage practitioners in different aspects of conservation and management of heritage.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed concepts which are relevant when managing heritage sites. The concepts of values, significance, value based approach, landscapes and local communities provides an understanding of the background to this study which seeks to highlight the management of layered landscapes such as the Okavango Delta. It has also traced the history of heritage management in the west and in Africa with particular reference to Botswana. The discussion has shown that the way heritage is managed in Africa and Botswana in particular is heavily influenced by the global trends in heritage management. Furthermore, it has shown that despite new developments in the way heritage is managed globally, little progress has been done in adopting this to better manage heritage especially in Africa, and in particular incorporating local communities in the management of heritage. It has been shown that although the

concept of World Heritage is a good one it has led to the marginalisation of local values and alienation of local communities from their heritage as governments pursue this for the management of heritage sites without consideration for the local. Despite new developments in implementing international conventions such as the one on World Heritage, very little has changed in the way we manage heritage in Africa in particular Botswana. This thesis therefore fills in a knowledge gap in the understanding of the values and significance of the Okavango Delta and the way it is managed. It questions the dominance of the natural resources values of the Okavango Delta over other resources such as the cultural and embedded socio-cultural values. It also questions the emphasis of the economic values of the Delta through tourism, which plays a central role in the conservation of the natural resources and their values. Heritage places have a multiplicity of values, as such favouring certain ones at the time of designation can create interesting challenges for management (de la Torre, 2005). The thesis further questions the dichotomies between nature and culture. Most importantly it challenges the role and place of local communities in the management of the heritage resource, the dominance of experts and government agencies as legitimate decision makers in the identification of heritage values especially in protected areas and how these are to be conserved and managed. However, one should not lose sight of the motives of local communities with regard to conservation and management of heritage resources. In some cases, this has been politically, and economically motivated hence the need to be cautious when making decisions about the management of heritage resources. It further questions how heritage is conceptualised as ‘monuments’, ‘natural monuments’ and ‘cultural monuments’ instead of treating heritage resources as landscapes. The argument brought forward is that this approach hinders the elicitation and acknowledgement of all the values of a heritage place in the management of protected areas such as the Okavango Delta.

Chapter 4
Theoretical and Methodological Approaches

4.1 Introduction

Heritage has been redefined as a field concerned first and foremost with people, not only as an assemblage of things or items mostly material, that have historical value for a collective and that can be catalogued, listed, protected and so forth (Filippucci, 2009:320). According to Filippucci, (2009:20) scholars now theorise heritage as a diverse range of social practices, processes and experiences through which people invest in things, sites and practices with value and sentiment, and claim them in collective ownership or guardianship to affirm continuity, authenticity and identity. As such, this makes heritage susceptible to different voices and values. In order to capture this, a theoretical approach informed by multivocality is essential (Hodder 2001). Multivocality accords space to multiple stakeholders and their multiple views which can democratise heritage conservation and minimise conflicts (Chirikure and Pwiti 2008). A multivocal theoretical framework requires a methodology that is sensitive to the views and concerns of several individuals. In this research, I have used qualitative methods as they are used to document and analyse perceptions, attitudes and motivations of those involved in the heritage process (Filippucci, 2009:320).

The methods included desktop surveys, use of questionnaires, and semi-structured interviews and free flowing interviews with local communities who live near the heritage site, who have interacted and continue to interact with the natural heritage, government officials who directly and indirectly interact with the heritage in terms of conservation and management, and the tourism sector who al., so interact with the site.

4.2 Theoretical Approaches

This thesis employs a theoretical approach informed by multivocality (Hodder, 2001). Multivocality originates from post-processual archaeology and it is based on the argument that inclusion of multiple voices is important and crucial when interpreting the archaeological record (Hodder, 2008). Multivocality has been influenced by post-modernist and post-structuralist thought introduced into archaeology during the early 1980s. The postmodern challenge to scientific objectivity was based on an emphasis on the subjective nature of knowledge and opened up the possibility of multiple interpretations in archaeology (Fawcett et al., 2008: 3). In addition to this, the poststructuralist perspective that texts are not objective

end products, but should have multiple meanings derived from different readers, led some archaeologists to question the objectivity of archaeological interpretations (Fawcett et al., 2008:3). As such, post-processual archaeologists believe that theirs is not the only valid interpretation of the evidence, and that much is to be gained by including the voices of other interested parties (Hodder, 2008). Another influence in the development of multivocality that is very much relevant to this study is the growth of social movements supporting the rights of socially marginalised groups (Fawcett et al., 2008:3). Representatives of these movements in the United States are the Civil Rights Movements and the Women Rights Movements. These movements demanded economic and socio-political changes that would give more power to underrepresented ethnic and social groups, including African-Americans, Native Americans and women (Fawcett et al., 2008:3).

According to Fawcett et al., (2008:3), similar social movements developed in many parts of the world. In Africa, in particular southern Africa, these movements developed in the 1990s and include groups of indigenous peoples such as Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA) of the San in Angola, Botswana, Namibia and South Africa. These groups are challenging alienation from their ancestral land and heritage as a result of colonial rule and legislation introduced during and after the colonial period that led to the creation of protected areas. They want claim to their land and to have access to their heritage and to have a voice in decisions regarding the management of their heritage. Parallel to these social movements was the decline in formal colonial structures that resulted in pressure on previous colonial powers, such as Britain to allow other voices to be heard (Fawcett et al., 2008:3). These influences made their way into archaeology or became prevalent in archaeology only during and after the 1980s (Fawcett et al., 2008:3). They have now found their way into heritage management.

These changes have led to the legislation and professional codes of ethics that request archaeologists to give greater consideration to the opinions, interpretations and feelings of various stakeholders who are interested in the archaeological past, including descendant communities of indigenous peoples (Fawcett et al., 2008:3). Furthermore, this has translated into changes in how and by whom the past is represented (Fawcett et al., 2008). Examples of these legislation and ethics code include NAGPRA (the Native American Graves Protection Act) functioning in the United States since 1990 and the Code of Ethics for professional associations like the Australian Archaeological Association of 2007 (Fawcett et al., 2008:3).

These changes that require inclusion of the voices of indigenous peoples and local communities have been a subject of debate in World Heritage nominations and management of World Heritage properties and have influenced changes in the way the concept of heritage, especially cultural heritage is perceived by

including other types of cultural heritage in the Operational Guidelines and the way heritage is managed by allowing management of natural sites using traditional management systems. These changes have also influenced revisions of charters such as Burra Charter, the Nara Document and now in discussion the Nara 20+ and new conventions such as the 2003 Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention. Over the years the Ramsar Convention has passed resolutions that recognises the cultural values of wetlands and the involvement of indigenous peoples in the management of Ramsar Site and IUCN has established structures that provide a platform for indigenous peoples and local communities to raise their voices in decisions taken regarding conservation and management of natural sites and have published manuals and guidelines on the subject for use by all stakeholders including state parties. Furthermore, they have also influenced what is now referred to as community archaeology and community conservation to provide a platform for multiple voices in the management of heritage, both natural and cultural.

Multivocality allows for the identification and incorporation of different views in the decision-making process. In this regard the application of multivocality in this thesis is based on the premise that the management of heritage sites, both natural and cultural is not only the sole responsibility of government through its agencies and experts. The inclusion of the voices of other interested parties especially those of marginalised communities associated with heritage sites can benefit the management of heritage sites.

Multivocality promotes the co-existence of diverse perspectives and provisions a space to provoke thinking, learning and emotional connection to heritage (Fawcett et al, 2008; Silberman, 2008). It offers a platform for diverse voices. In applying the multivocality approach in examining and studying the interpretation of Wildebeest Kuil, the exhibition at the Museum fails to include the voices of the soldiers and their dependents (Barnabas, 2016). It is also meant to challenge dominant interpretive narratives and to create spaces and structures of heritage sites that will promote the co-existence of potentially conflicting approaches and perceptions of site significance (Silberman, 2008). Hence in this regard, it accords for the creation of management and governance structures at heritage sites that employs both traditional knowledge systems and scientific knowledge and which further allows for the promotion of the co-existence of approaches and perceptions of experts and indigenous peoples and local communities with regard to site significance.

Multivocality involves ethics and rights, changing practices and content to open up the space to disadvantaged groups (Hodder, 2008). The central themes of multivocality are the undermining of dominant discourses and the empowerment of marginalised voices (Kim, 2008). As such multivocality embraces an inclusive approach to heritage management or understanding of the past (Schoeman and

Pikirayi, 2011). Open consultation with all communities associated with the heritage site or claiming to have affinity to the site is very crucial in heritage management (Schoeman & Pikirayi, 2011). For example, a multivocality approach was used in identifying the descendants of Mapunbugwe where communities were given an opportunity to voice their own histories and to have the government and the academic establishment listen (Schoeman & Pikirayi, 2007).

Multivocality is linked to contextualisation of archaeology. Contextual archaeology stresses that a specific object can only be understood by studying its context within its local, scientific and social context (Labadi, 2007) and the importance of the individuals as active, as meaningfully creating his or her world and as an agent of change in society (Hodder, 1985).

Through adopting a multivocality approach, listening to voices of multiple stakeholders, archaeologists and heritage managers can expose different, sometimes conflicting values and representations of heritage and the past held by different individuals or groups such as women, the working classes or specific ethnic communities (Labadi ,2007).

The concept of value has become a central argument in the conservation and management process of heritage sites (Mason, 2000; Mason & Avrim, 2002; De la Torre & Mason, 2002; Labadi, 2007). Heritage sites do not have intrinsic values and their values are subjective based on changes in time, and particular cultural, intellectual, historical and psychological frames of reference held by specific groups (Mason, 2000; Labadi, 2007). Because each of us has a different set of experiences to draw upon, we will each construct the past in different ways (Labadi, 2007) and therefore different and often conflicting values can then be attributed to the same cultural or natural property by different individuals or community groups (Labadi, 2007). Hence in devising a method for the conservation and management of heritage sites, it is necessary to understand the different values that make them so special and important (Labadi, 2007) and this can be achieved by engaging multiple voices in identifying and understanding the values of heritage sites and their incorporation in the management of the site. This also calls for the incorporation of different approaches in the conservation and management of heritage sites.

Related to the theory of multivocality therefore is the concept of values-based approach and landscape approach to heritage resource management. The two approaches complement each other in that they take into account the full range of values of a heritage resource or a landscape. Hence, we can talk of values-based landscape-scale management (MacManamon, 2016:133). An important feature of this management approach is the range of resource values that can and should be considered (MacManamon,

2016: 133). While form and visual value are used to describe and evaluate “cultural landscapes”, additional values such as cultural, educational, historical, and scientific values, also can be incorporated into landscape-scale resource management (MacManamon, 2016: 133). A Landscape approach is applied to relatively large areas with cultural, ecological, environmental, and/or historical consistency as landscapes are defined as relatively large areas (MacManamon, 2016: 133). According to Capelo et al., (2011:16), cultural landscapes have different values because ‘heritage landscapes’ signify the different ways in which mankind in general and individual communities in particular connect with nature and environment; each community has its own specific cultural, technical, and even moral background and historical experience.

New management methods such as values-based approach to management are important in that they: they require awareness of all the values of a site; they rely on consultation and therefore involve more of society in the conservation process; they create a deeper understanding of the resource and most importantly they are seen as a means of achieving sustainability for the heritage, by promoting the participation and involvement of all those who care (de la Torre, 2005:5). An important step in values-based management is the identification of the values of the place through an elicitation process involving stakeholders (de la Torre, 2005:6).

The Okavango Delta has been and is still inhabited by different community groups most of whom have been marginalised and excluded from their heritage, the San, Bayei, Hambukushu to name a few (refer to Chapter 2). These groups have different cultural, historical and psychological experiences with the natural landscape, and therefore attach different and probably conflicting values to the landscape. Furthermore, because of its multiple uses, multiple stakeholders, layers of management planning documents, legislations, policies, both at local, national, regional and international level, its local and universal values (refer to Chapter 6), the need to adopt a multivocality approach is very crucial in devising a management system for the Okavango Delta. The approach allows or will allow inclusion of the voices of marginalised communities in the Okavango Delta in terms of the values they attach to the landscape and their traditional conservation and management systems of the values.

Since multivocality embraces reflexivity and collaboration, it will allow for full collaboration with multi-stakeholders and the use of reflexive methods in the management of the site. It will further allow for full collaboration and reflexivity in carrying out research about the site and an inclusive approach to research. It will provide opportunities for expansion of the research focus of the Okavango Delta to include a comprehensive research programme on cultural heritage, archaeology, anthropology and history of local

communities of the Okavango Delta. Furthermore, being inclusive, reflexive, and collaborative in nature, multivocality provides an opportunity to include different experts in research on heritage places and their management. Currently research in the Okavango Delta is more focused on the natural aspect of the landscape, and very little attention has been focused on the archaeology, ethnography, history anthropology and archaeology of the area, hence the need to involve more specialists or experts such as archaeologists, anthropologists, historians, ethnographers and ethno archaeologists. Cultural heritage research and archaeology at the University of Botswana Okavango Research Institute is relegated to the Tourism department with only one research scholar.

The concept of multivocality is increasingly being applied in archaeology and heritage stewardship/management for example where histories presented by archaeologists are often limited and sometimes contested (Zimmerman, 1994; Cowie, & Laluk, 2009). Multivocality offers an opportunity for collaborative research incorporating the interests, goals, and knowledge of descendant's communities, indigenous peoples, archaeologists and other interested groups (Cowie, & Laluk, 2009: 6). In applying multivocality in the study of Tribal Relations in the Coronado National Forest (CNF), Arizona, Cowie & Laluk (2009), argues that collaboration not only enrich the CNFs understanding of the landscape and its history, but can also have practical benefits to forest service management. Furthermore, this kind of engagement where the voices of tribal groups are heard through collaborative research has become a high priority for the CNF to begin to address Native American concerns that their cultural beliefs and values were not sufficiently incorporated into decision making within the Forest Service (Cowie, & Laluk, 2009:7). In the past, diverse tribal perspectives were not incorporated in the Coronado National Forest's land management practices (Cowie, & Laluk, 2009:8). Similarly in the case of the Okavango Delta, engagement which include the voices of indigenous peoples and local communities in collaborative research should be a high priority to begin to address indigenous peoples and local communities and civil society groups' concerns regarding the exclusion of the cultural heritage ,history and local values of the Okavango Delta in the nomination dossier and the management plan and their proposal to UNESCO to have the state party re-nominate the site as a mixed site to include the cultural heritage.

4.3 Methods and Data Collection

4.3.1 Introduction

The research employed a mixed method approach where both qualitative and quantitative methods were combined to come up with detailed information on the subject of research. The research was done among

84 respondents from various stakeholders; local communities, government officials and the tourism sector. In choosing the respondents, the researcher randomly picked respondents in the two villages to administer the questionnaire. The researcher also utilised a stakeholder meeting involving representatives of local communities, government departments, private sector and academia to administer the questionnaire. Furthermore, the private sector involved in tourism in the Okavango Delta were identified and questionnaires were dropped at their offices and collected later. It employed qualitative methods through examining documents and interviewing participants and quantitative methods through administering of questionnaires. Interviews are one of the most commonly used methods of data collection (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006). As researchers we conduct qualitative research because we need a complex, detailed understanding of the issue (Creswell, 2007). Creswell (2007) further argues that this detail can only be established by talking directly with people, going to their homes or places of work, and allowing them to tell their stories. Furthermore, we conduct interviews when we want to empower individuals to share their stories, and hear their voices on certain issues (Creswell, 2007).

4.3.2 Desktop Survey

The aim was to explore the body of literature relating to management of heritage sites in particular World Heritage sites, management systems used and the role of stakeholders in the management of World Heritage sites especially local communities. A literature review of the documents relating to the management of the site was explored as well as stakeholders involved in particular local communities in the area and their relationship to the site. Documents relating to the history of conservation in the area were also explored. These were used to provide an insight of the relationship between indigenous peoples and local communities with the site, their interaction with the environment, hence gaining insight into the cultural aspects of the Okavango Delta and the local traditions.

Understanding the history of conservation of the area provided insight into understanding the current management system of the site, in particular the involvement or role of indigenous peoples and local communities in the management of the site. To further understand the cultural aspects of the Okavango Delta and local traditions in the area, the researcher used documents submitted as supplementary information to IUCN/World Heritage Centre as part of the nomination dossier describing the cultural heritage of some of the indigenous peoples in the area. This further helped gain insight into the local

values of the site as perceived by indigenous peoples; this also provided insight into the traditional uses or areas of cultural importance associated with the indigenous peoples and local communities in the area.

The researcher conducted a desktop survey in the University of Cape Town and the University of Botswana (Okavango Research Institute) libraries, and also used sources of information such as academic journals accessible online through the University of Cape Town Library Online, as well as documents about the Okavango Delta, management planning documents, reports and the nomination documents for the site. She also used documents or academic journals written by research scholars from the Okavango Research Institute of the University of Botswana. The Okavango Research Institute is mandated to carry out research on the different aspects of the Delta, hence the academic journals and study reports provided information on the different aspects of the Delta such as livelihood strategies of the inhabitants of the Delta, tourism, CBNRM and conservation and management of the OD.

4.3.3 Questionnaire

A questionnaire is simply a tool for collecting and recording information about a particular issue of interest. Questionnaires are commonly used to look at the basic attitudes/opinions of a group of people relating to a particular issue (Creswell, 2007). In questionnaires, participants respond to prompts by selecting from predetermined answers (Creswell, 2007). In this case, questionnaires were used to gather basic information from different stakeholders; local communities, government officials and the tourism sector regarding the management of the OD. A questionnaire was given to people individually to fill (see appendix B). Stakeholders were given questionnaires to fill during a stakeholder workshop discussing and preparing for the state of conservation report for the ODNWHS. The workshop gathered government officials from different departments working in the Okavango Delta, local community representatives, tourism sector and NGOs and Parastatals. However, the majority of the stakeholders who attended were government department officials. A visit to the two villages of Khwai and Ngarange was made in February 2016 where individuals in the village were given questionnaires to fill. Those who could read and write were given the questions to fill individually, while those who could not read and write, they were asked the questions in Setswana and answers selected as per their responses. Although the majority of people in the two villages speak and understand Setswana, though they are the San, I had an assistant who understood the language in each village and helped explain where they did not understand and also where the researcher did not understand, especially with the older people. For the tourism sector, questionnaires were delivered to their offices and collected at a later date that was agreed with them.

In this study, the questionnaire was used as the main method for collecting data as with questionnaires one can reach out to a lot of audiences, and they are also quick to administer. However, they have their limitations as some people did not return the questionnaire especially tourism operators citing that they were busy. As such the researcher did not get more responses from the tourism sector. Questionnaires also do not provide room to make follow ups or get more insight or details regarding the issues one is investigating. As such semi-structured interviews were conducted to get more insight into the issues investigated. The questionnaire contained four sections, the first section dealing with stakeholder profile, section 2 dealt with questions on the Significance of the ODWHS, section 3 dealt with the Role of stakeholders in the management of the property and section 4 with management of the property.

4.3.4 Interviews

The analysis of various aspects of people's attitudes towards the past and how these are formed constitute a major area of heritage research, and interviewing is one of the most commonly used methods in such studies (Sorensen, 2009:164). Interviews are a means of gaining information about complex and abstract relations, thoughts and feelings and as such can be used in heritage research (Sorensen, 2009:164). In fact, interviews can be used to engage with complex and abstract ideas, such as heritage (Sorensen, 2009:165). We interview out of both a desire to learn and the curiosity about how people see and understand their world (Sorensen, 2009:176). Semi-structured interviews were conducted among the elders in the two villages (see Appendix f). This is because semi-structured interviews are the most widely used interviewing format for qualitative research and can occur either with an individual or in groups (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006:2). They are generally organised around asset of predetermined open-ended questions, with other questions emerging from the dialogue between interviewer and interviewee (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006; Kersel, 2009)). According to DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree (2006), group interviews often take the form of focus groups, with multiple participants sharing their knowledge or experience about a specific subject. The assistant indicated some elderly people who are believed to be knowledgeable in the local traditions and as such these were interviewed to get more insight on the traditional knowledge systems and the areas of cultural importance and how these have been utilised and managed in the past and whether they still possess the knowledge for utilising the resource and if this can still be useful today. These conversations were voice recorded. The plan was to conduct more interviews among local communities and government officials who are directly involved with the site to gain insight in understanding the local values of the site, the management system, its effectiveness and also some of the tourism operators. As indicated above, questionnaires are limited in terms of exploring deeper the

people's views and understanding. As such interviews were used as is one of the most commonly used method in studies where one wants to analyse the various aspects of people's attitudes and views regarding heritage. This method is time consuming as such could not reach out to a lot of respondents as time was limited.

4.3.6 Conclusion

The data collection methods used, desktop survey, questionnaires and semi-structured interviews provided information that helped to address the aim of this research and complemented each other where they had limitations.

Chapter 5

The Okavango Delta: Heritage resources, values and significance

5.1 Introduction

Management of heritage sites requires an understanding of the heritage resources, values and significance of the specific places or landscapes. This chapter will therefore discuss the heritage resources of the Okavango Delta, their values and significance in order to understand how it has been managed, to critique current practice and in the process help inform future management strategies of the site.

5.2 Heritage resources of the Okavango Delta

5.2.1 Natural resources

Recent geomorphological work has shown that the Okavango Delta was much more widespread 200 000 years ago and flowed extensively southwards to around Deception Valley in the northern Kalahari (ODMP, 2008: 23). Re-activation of the faults to the north (around Gumare) and south (the Thamalakane and Kunyere) led to the confinement of the present fan likely around 40 000 years ago (ODMP, 2008:23). The Okavango Delta is located at the southern distal end of the Okavango River Basin. The Okavango River originates in the Angolan highlands as two rivers, the Cuito and Cubango which join to form the 1500km long Kavango River and flows briefly through Namibia's Caprivi Strip before entering Botswana, where it is called the Okavango River. It is a natural area situated in a dry subtropical and landlocked country in the heart of Southern Africa (refer to Figure 3.1). This remarkable natural and green oasis lies near the lowest point of the extensive subcontinental Kalahari Basin within a vast sea of desert sand. The Kalahari Basin stretches over 3000km from north to south and up to 1500km east to west (Okavango Delta Nomination Dossier 2013:24).

The region where the Okavango Delta is located is characterised by two main watersheds, the Okavango, and the Kwando/Linyanti River system to the east which is irregularly connected to the Okavango through the Selinda Spillway (Okavango Delta Nomination Dossier 2013:25).

Wetlands are among the world's most productive environments and provide a wide array of benefits. They are wellsprings of biological diversity, providing the water and primary productivity upon which countless species of plants and animals depend for survival. They support high concentrations of birds, mammals, reptiles, amphibians, fish and invertebrate species (Ramsar Convention Secretariat, 2016: 1). The Okavango Delta contains a variety of wet and dry habitats including woodlands, riverine forests,

grasslands, floodplains and Islands. Most vegetation in flooded areas consists of sedges, grasses and aquatic plants. Woody species are restricted to dryland areas and islands, with the exception of the water fig (*Ficus verruculos*) and include majestic hardwood species such as the African Ebony (*Diospyros mespiliformus*), Knob thorn (*Acacia nigrescens*) and Sausage Trees (*Kigelia Africana*) (Okavango Delta Nomination Dossier, 2013)

These habitats also contain vegetation such as papyrus reeds, and plants such as water lilies. The habitats are also home to a variety of wildlife such as elephants, hippos, crocodiles, lion, red lechwe, Zebras, buffaloes to mention a few. The Okavango Delta is also home to a variety of bird and fish species. One of the reasons for the high plant species diversity and the exceptionality of this ecosystem lie in the interaction of a periodical natural phenomenon, the annual flood in the dry season and the distinct rainy season in time of low water, with shifts in the flooding pattern over short and long periods

Wetlands frequently provide tremendous economic benefits to its inhabitants, including water supply, fishing, agriculture through the maintenance of water tables and nutrient retention in flood plains, timber and other building materials, energy resources such as peat and plant matter, wildlife resources, transport, a wide range of other wetland products, including herbal medicine, and last but not least, recreation and tourism opportunities (Ramsar Convention Secretariat, 2016: 11).

In addition, wetlands have special attributes as part of the cultural heritage of humanity. They are related to religious and cosmological beliefs and spiritual values; constitute a source of aesthetic and artistic inspiration, yield invaluable archaeological evidence from the remote past, provide wildlife sanctuaries, and form the basis of important local social, economic and cultural traditions (Ramsar Convention Secretariat, 2016: 11). Wetlands and people are ultimately interdependent (Ramsar Convention Secretariat, 2016) hence the Okavango Delta natural landscape and its resources has influenced the settlement and the livelihoods of the people of the Okavango Delta and eventually their cultural heritage (see section below).

5.2.2 Cultural resources

People use their socio-cultural understanding of phenomenon to interact with the environment (Keitumetse, 2013). These interactions with the environment result in the creation of cultural resources. Cultural resources are tangible (material) and intangible (non-material) remains of societies past activities on the bio-physical environment which when re-visited, re-evaluated, re-used and re-constructed transform into various forms of cultural heritage (Keitumetse, 2011, 2013). Cultural resources comprise

archaeological remains, monuments and sites, cultural landscapes superimposed on the natural environment, local indigenous knowledge systems, folk-life and folklore, and traditional practices and rituals attached to the biophysical environment (Keitumetse, 2011:50).

Archaeological heritage

The natural heritage values and attributes of the Okavango Delta has been the subject of intensive research, conservation and management both nationally and internationally. These natural values and attributes have been used to highlight the Okavango Delta's pristine, wilderness and untransformed natural landscape, emphasising little interaction of the landscape with human populations (Van der Post, 2004). In contrast to this highly emphasised picture of the Okavango Delta, archaeological evidence confirms that humanity has inhabited Ngamiland, Tsodilo and the Okavango region for at least 100 000 years ago (Campbell, 1976). Some of the archaeological sites in Ngamiland are shown in the map below (Figure 5.1).

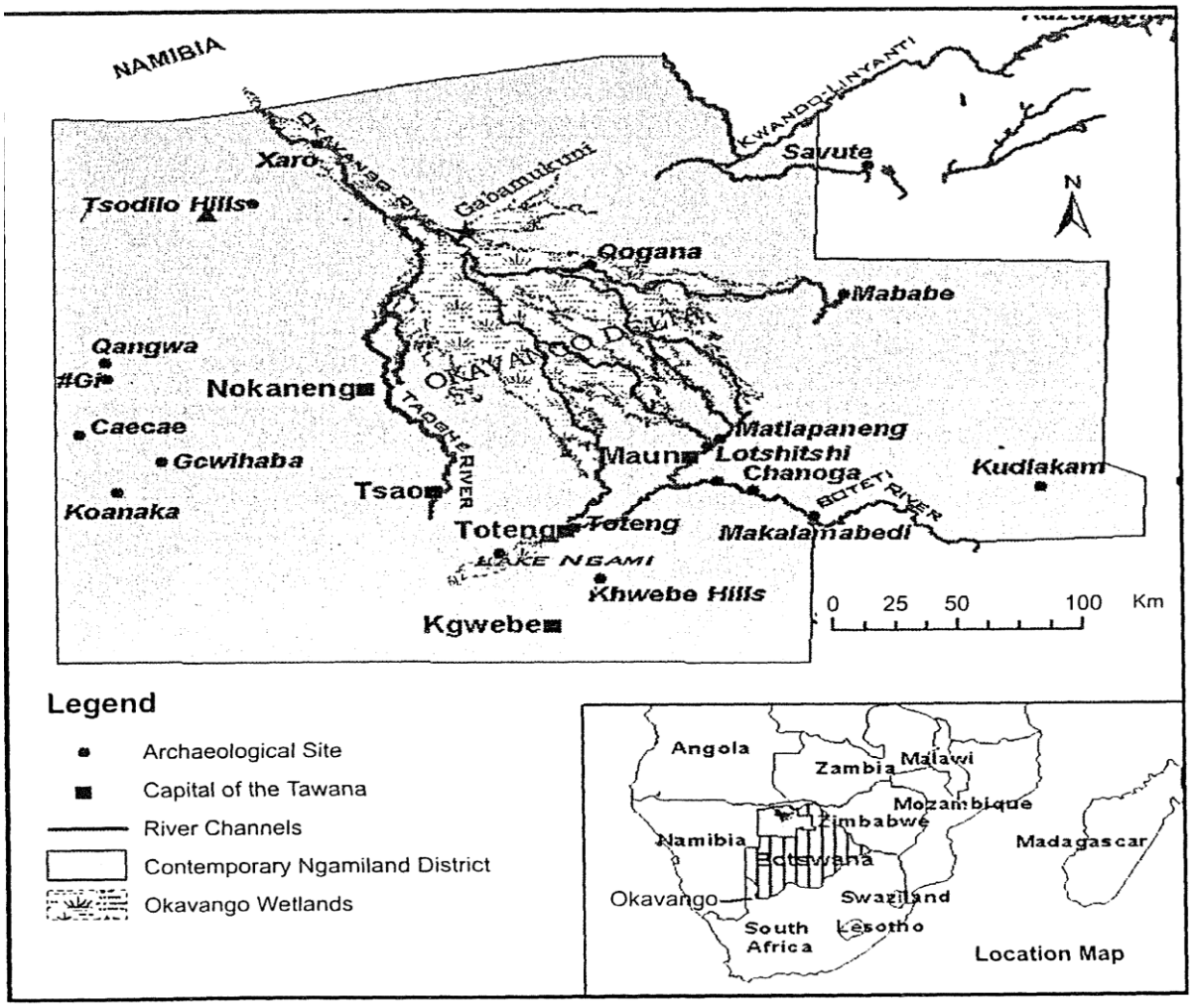


Figure 5.1: Map showing some of the archaeological sites in Ngamiland (Source Van de Post: 2004)

The section below will therefore discuss the archaeology of the Okavango Delta. This will be discussed within a broader picture of the archaeology of Botswana in particular that of North West region. Some of the well-known archaeological sites in the area include Tsodilo Hills (Ngoma and Divuyu), Toteng area, Qangwa and Xai Xai area (=gi and Mahopa), Matlapaneng, Kgwebe Hills, Qogana, Xaro and Lotshitshi (see Appendix a Site Register Ngamiland and Chobe, National Museum). Prehistoric human activity in Botswana has been dated to the Early Stone Age (ESA), to c. 2million to 200 000 years ago. Chrono-typological archaeological division of the Stone Age period associates the ESA with such tools as hand axes, cleavers and choppers. This type of material is commonly found along river beds and pans. The Middle Stone Age (MSA), which is a slightly better known phenomenon in Botswana, lasted from about c.200 000 to 35 000 years ago (Robbins and Murphy ,1996). Evidence of MSA consists mostly of stone

tools and associated manufacturing debris and a refinement in flaking techniques, including the use of prepared cores. This typology is quite common throughout the country (Monageng, 2014). MSA sites have been found in western Ngamiland (Qangwa and Xai Xai with excavation conducted at Gi by Yellen and Brooks (1998).

About 40 000 to 25 000 years ago, stone tool assemblages begin to display a tentative morphological shift. There appears to be a marked change, particularly in the technology of tool manufacture. Tool morphology changed and ushered in facies like the microlithic industries among others. This is the period known as the Late Stone Age (LSA) and continued in popularity well into the second millennium AD coinciding with settled agro-pastoral and agricultural communities who were established then. Such sites have been found in different parts of the country with an extensive site in Toteng (Bambata) and nearer in the Nhabe River (Robbins et al., 2008).

The earliest Iron Age sites in Botswana appear to have been established during the 4th Century A.D. Early Iron Age presence has been noted at Qogana in the Okavango Delta and said to have been occupied in the 9th and 10th centuries A.D (Denbow, 1990).

Until the 1960s there has been little interest in the archaeology of the region due to lack of substantial sites (Sadr, 1997). It was only after ethnographers from Harvard University drew attention to the !Kung hunter-gatherers of the deepest Kalahari that interest in the prehistory of the region quickened (Sadr, 1997). The archaeological work carried out was centred around what is known as the Kalahari debate, hence the sites studied were mainly those that supported the evidence of the debate and concentrated in the deepest area of the Kalahari hence very little archaeological work was done in the region and in particular the interior and exterior of the Okavango Delta. However, the few sites found along the delta and in some islands in the delta provide evidence of prehistoric settlement of the area. According to Van de Post (2004:123), people have lived in or near the delta and have exploited the delta's resources since prehistoric times at many localities around the delta and in fossil valleys and hills of the drylands of Ngamiland.

Survey and excavation of Qangwa/Xai Xai area starting with eight sites by Yellen from 1968-1970 demonstrated the existence of subsurface LSA materials at Xai Xai and the presence of similar LSA sites near the waterholes of =gi and Mahopa (Yellen and Brooks 1989:5; Sadr, 1997). Wilmsen also excavated at Xai Xai in the 1970s making contribution to the Kalahari debate (Sadr, 1997). Extensive surveys and excavations carried out at Tsodilo revealed Iron Age villages at the site of Ngoma and Divuyu (Denbow

and Wilmsen, 2005; Denbow, 2011). Divuyu is said to represent the earliest arrival of a full formed Iron Age Community in Ngamiland (Denbow, 1986, 1990, 1999; Denbow and Wilmsen, 2005). Dates from Divuyu ranges between AD650 and AD800 (Denbow, 1990, 1995; Denbow and Wilmsen, 2005). Dates for the site of Ngoma range between AD 700-AD1090 (Denbow, 1990, 1995, Denbow and Wilmsen, 2005). Further work at Divuyu and Ngoma has been done by Mosothwane (Mosothwane, 2010, 2011). She reconstructed the prehistoric diets of the inhabitants of the three sites of Divuyu, Ngoma and Xaro (EIA period) using stable carbon isotope signatures of human and animal remains (Mosothwane, 2011:115).

Faunal assemblage of Divuyu consists of ovicaprids, cattle, fish, river mollusc, and wild fauna (Turner, 1987). Fish and goats contributed 60% of the animal protein. Some wild fauna such as hippo, waterbuck, red lechwe, and reedbuck, as well as fish, are naturally restricted to regular water sources and their presence at Divuyu can only be explained through exchange with people of the Okavango River and delta (Turner, 1987; Denbow, 1986, 1990, 1999; Wilmsen and Denbow, 1990, 2005).

Contrary to Divuyu, cattle make up almost a third of the faunal assemblage at Ngoma (Denbow, 1986a, 1986b, 1999; Turner, 1987). Sheep and goats are less represented and there is an increase in wild fauna compared to Divuyu (Denbow and Wilmsen, 1983; Turner, 1987; Wilmsen and Denbow 1986; Denbow 1986, 1990, 1999). Again, fish bones and river mollusc shells recovered at the site indicate exchange with the people along the river and delta (Mosothwane, 2011).

At the site of Xaro, fish appears to have played a more significant role (Wilmsen, 1990; Denbow, 1999) and this is expected given the proximity of the site to the Okavango River (Mosothwane, 2011:123). According to Mosothwane (2011:123), the fact that the site is along the riverbank and has been found to have fish bones, it is tempting to assume that its inhabitants relied on fishing for food. It is highly likely that Xaro inhabitants were fishermen whose plant portion of the diet came from wild fruits, nuts and berries (Mosothwane, 2011). C3 photosynthetic plants and/or freshwater fish dominate while C4 photosynthetic plants played a minor role in the overall diet (Mosothwane, 2011). Thus they most probably practised foraging combined with fishing (Mosothwane, 2011). Such a subsistence practice has been dominated among Bayei and the so-called 'River San' or Banoka. These communities are hunter-gatherers as well as fishers (Mosothwane, 2011:123).

According to Mosothwane (2011:123), the results of the stable isotope carbon analysis of the five individuals from EIA context indicate substantial variation in diet and subsistence in Ngamiland. At the Tsodilo hills, domestic cereals appear to have dominated the overall dietary protein and cattle and small

stock also appear to have good pastures (Mosothwane, 2011). The results of the Tsodilo Hills are within expected ranges given that previous studies based on material culture and recovered fauna and flora classified the sites as being those of farming communities (Mosothwane, 2011:123). In contrast, the site Xaro which has been classified as being of a farming community indicate heavy reliance on wild and fished resources (Mosothwane, 2011:123).

Archaeological surveys and excavations conducted in the 1990s in the Toteng area have revealed a lot of archaeological sites (see Appendix A) and only a few will be discussed here to give a picture of the archaeology of the area. These open air sites preserved traces of a long sequence of prehistoric occupation of the area, beginning with the LSA hunter-gatherers from the last few centuries BC (Sadr, 1997; Robbins et al., 1998). Toteng is situated in a key archaeological area between the southern end of the Okavango Delta and Lake Ngami (Robbins, 1984; Campbell, 1992). The area has proved to be of considerable archaeological interest due to the discovery of some of the earliest evidence of domesticated livestock in Botswana (Robbins et al., 1998:125). The bones of domesticated animals have been recovered in association with Bambata ceramics at several sites in the area (Campbell, 1992; Huffman, 1994; Sadr, 1997).

According to Robbins et al., (1998:125), Campbell's excavations revealed a level of historic material underlain by a midden dated to 1800 BP that contained Bambata pottery, LSA artefacts and both domestic and wild fauna remains, including fish. Underneath the Bambata midden was a level dated to approximately 2650 BP that contained only wild fauna, fish and LSA artefacts, but no pottery or domestic stock (Robbins et al., 1998:125). Archaeological sites surveyed and test excavated by Robbins and team include Toteng 7 and Toteng 8 (Robbins et al., 1998). Toteng 7, referred to as the ridge site, has yielded a scatter of LSA debitage, bone fragments and a few potsherds, fauna and dispersed charcoal (Robbins et al., 1998). Test pit at Toteng 7 revealed LSA assemblage throughout the deposit including few formal tools, a double scraper, flakes and flake fragments, bone point fragments, ostrich eggshell fragments, ostrich eggshell beads (Robbins et al., 1998:127).

Toteng 8 assemblage may also be described as LSA with segments, small scrapers, awls, notches, a double backed drill and a burin and chert bladelets, three blades including a pointed blade and ten microlithic cores representing a variety of raw materials including a range of coloured cherts, silcrete, quartz, chalcedony and jasper (Robbins et al., 1998:128). At both sites, fauna was found throughout the deposits although most of the remains were identifiable bone fragments or pieces of tooth enamel indicating that a range of small to medium-sized animals is represented (Robbins et al., 1998). Fish bones, including

catfish, were found in most levels at Toteng 7, though they were not evident at c.0.4-0.7m while at Toteng 8 they were present but not very common and were concentrated between 0.4-0.7m (Robbins et al., 1998). Some of the archaeological sites are summarised in the table below (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1: Some archaeological sites in and around the Okavango Delta

NAME OF SITE	LOCATION	TYPE OF SITE	RADIO-CARBON DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCES
Matlapaneng	8 km north east of Maun on the Island just below the bridge that crosses the Thamalakane River.	Extensive EIA. also a bit of LSA	Late seventh to tenth century AD	The sites belong within the Kumadzolo-Dambwa ceramic complex which is a regional variant of Gokomere Tradition of western Zimbabwe and north eastern Botswana. Traces of pole and clay are present as well as remain of metal working. Species represented include ovicaprids and cattle which predominate in all contexts. Few remains of larger bovids identified from postcranial material as buffalo and eland (T. Oryx or T. Livingstonians). Other species present are wildebeest, common reedbuck and possibly impala, as well as small	Turner, 1987

				bovid identified as common duiker. Giraffe, rhino, hippo and zebra (Burchells zebra) are present in a few contexts, while tortoise, springhare, hare, guinea fowl, ostrich, land snail, freshwater mussel and bullfrog forma small but consistent components of the assemblage. Fish are not represented in the assemblage. Carnivores include hunting dog, jackal, fox and mongoose. Economy of the occupants of Matlapaneng was based primarily on herding cattle.	
Lotshitshi	On the banks of the Thamalakane river opposite Matlapaneng.	LSA, EIA	Deposits date to the Seventeenth Century BC. Upper levels date to the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries BC	Only wild animals were present in levels dated to the seventeenth to fifteenth centuries BC. Cattle appear in levels dated to the third-fourth centuries AD. although cattle were present, the evidence suggests that they may have been acquired	Turner, 1987a,1987b

				from neighbouring stock keepers. No sheep and goats were present. No ovicaprids were identified. Zebra, wildebeest, duiker and warthog were well represented, while francolin, guinea fowl, springhare, dassie, tortoise, freshwater items and carnivores are also present. Carnivores are only present in the earliest level, but are in any case poorly represented. The species composition reflects a more broadly-based economy.	
Qogana	Situated on an Island in the Okavango Delta 100km north east	LSA EIA	The site has been dated to the eighth century AD	Faunal remains show no evidence of domestic animals. Common duiker, reedbuck, impala, eland and sable are represented as well as zebra, giraffe, hippo, rhino and a variety of small mammals and aquatic species. EIA ceramics were recovered as well as	Turner, 1987b

				impressions of clay and reed huts. The inhabitants depended entirely on wild resources.	
Xaro	Near Nxamasere on the edge of the Okavango River Panhandle floodplain	EIA		Two adult remains excavated at the site and were buried in horizontally flexed position. The q13cvalues of the Xaro individuals are strongly associated with diets in which C3 photosynthetic plants and/or freshwater fish dominate. As such it is likely that Xaro inhabitants were fishermen whose plant portion of the diet came from wild fruits, nuts and berries. Fish bones found at the site. As such fish appears to have played a more significant role probably owing to the proximity of the site to the Okavango River	Mosothwane, 2011

The archaeological sites discussed above show that with detailed systematic research on the prehistory of the Okavango Delta, there is a possibility of unearthing more archaeological sites that can provide more

details on past uses and settlements of this wetland area. In fact, ongoing research in the Okavango Delta has identified sites and landscapes of cultural significance (Keitumetse, 2016) (see figure 5.2).

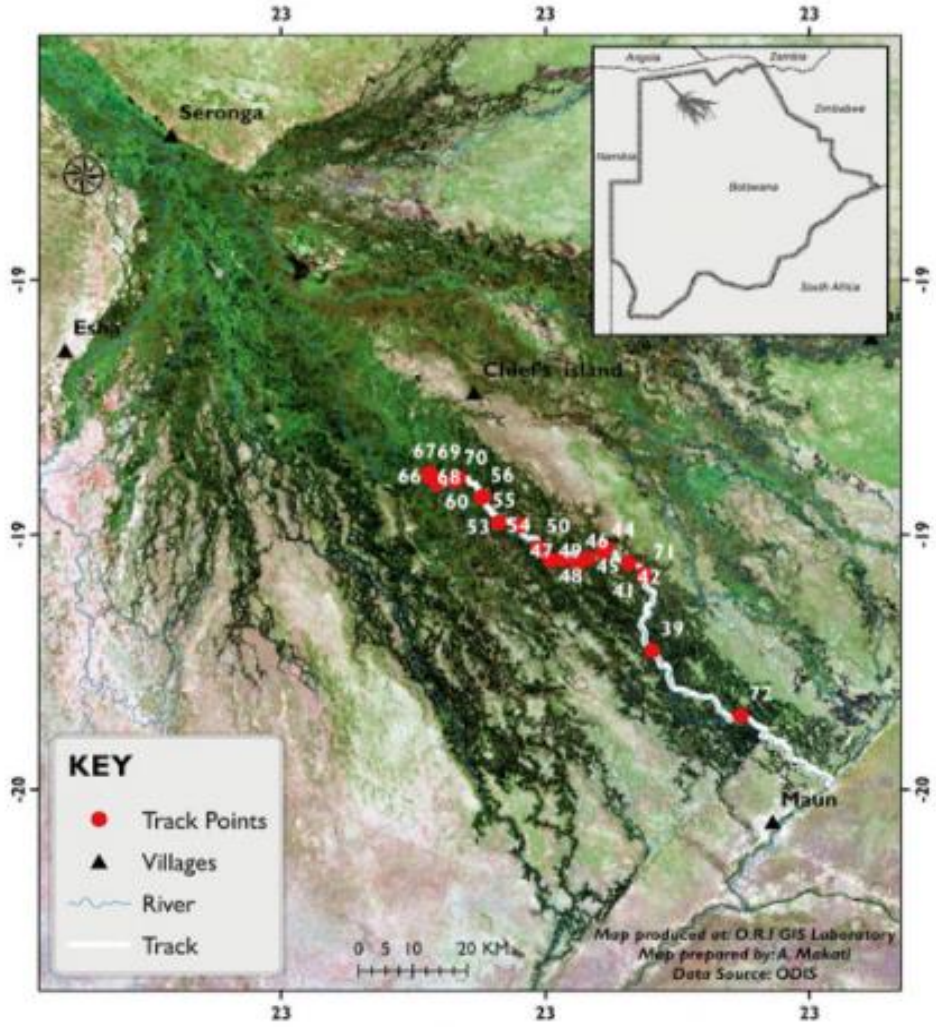


Figure 5.2: Identified sites and landscapes of cultural significance in the Okavango Delta World Heritage site. Numbers correspond to identified sites during survey (Keitumetse, 2016:56).

Living heritage

As discussed in the section on history and settlement, the Okavango Delta has been settled by different groups of people who have used their socio-cultural understanding of phenomenon to interact with the natural landscape. Traditionally, the people of the Okavango Delta have relied on the delta and its natural resources for their livelihoods. Hence, for each group of people in the Okavango Delta, there was one or more particular mode of subsistence which was of primary importance in determining where they lived (Campbell, 1977:165). As such, the Okavango Delta has evidence of areas which historically were related

to the traditional settlement and livelihood activities of its inhabitants, hence of historical and cultural importance to them (see Table 5.2 and 5.3).

Table 5.2: Some Key Cultural Landscapes of the San along the Okavango Delta Panhandle

Cultural Landscape	Location	Significance
Goxa Island	Between Mohembo and Kauxwi	Chief N//aekhwe of the //Anikhwe was killed and buried here after a protracted battle with Chief Sekgoma Letsholathebe of the Batawana. The Island is of both spiritual and historical importance to the //Anikhwe. It has previously being used as a permanent camp and fishing ground
//uakao (Ancestral land/settlement, burial place)	Southern tip of Xakao village	This was Chief N//aekhwe's home and court. Many //Anikhwe ancestors were buried here as the community lived here over many years practicing a riparian lifestyle.
N/oaxom (Red Cliff)	Between Ngarange and Mogotlho	This was a permanent camp for the //Anikhwe. N/oaxom is one of the most important spiritual sites of the //Anikhwe where sacrifices of animals and livestock have been made in honour of the ancestors.
Tcoyi (Island)	Next to N/oaxom	This is a sacred place of the Gumayi people, a clan of the //Anikhwe. It is regarded as the birth place of the clan, thus a point of reference for their identity. Their ancestors lived here. It is also the place of powerful spirits summoned in difficult times such as drought. Animal sacrifices have been done here too.
Gombo Island	East of Eretsha	The place was the hunting and gathering ground for the Bugakhwe. Oral testimonies state that

		Biro, the first Khwe Chief was bitten by a Mamba at the place while he was out with his regiment in a hunt at this area and was buried on the spot. The Island is of spiritual and historical importance to the Bugakhwe, who have used it to consult their ancestors and perform sacrifices.
Mahaya (also known as Du#uxa)	Located between Ngarange and Xakao	It was a Bugakhwe permanent camp. The place was a wildlife corridor between the forests and the river, and hence an easy hunting ground for the Bugakhwe who laid their snares and traps along the corridor. Many Bugakhwe ancestors were buried here.
Khwaxa (also known as Kachirachira)	Between Gunotsoga and Eretsha	This was a permanent camp of the Bugakhwe occupied during the dry season. It is between two animal corridors. Many were buried here and it has been used as a spiritual site.
Other Seasonal camps include Mokgatsha, Kyauo (also known as Matswii)	Mokgatsha is found between Mogotlho and Ngarange and Kyauo is found in the village of Beetsha	Kyauo is believed to be the site where the first group of Bayeyi met the Bugakhwe community. All these places hold spiritual significance as many ancestors were buried there.

Table 5.3: Some of the San (Bugakhwe of Khwai) Sacred sites in the Okavango Delta

Sacred Site	Location	Significance
Kangjiye Pool		It was used by the Bugakhwe of Khwai for grass harvesting and wild berry
Nbudi Island	NG 19	It has been used for fishing
Xuku (Hippo) Pool	Moremi Game Reserve	It has been used for fishing. It is also of spiritual importance to the Bugakhwe
Njamataka		It has been used for reed and grass harvesting
Segagama		It has been used for grass harvesting
Sexeku		It has also been used for reed and grass harvesting and gathering of wild fruits.

The Wayei, who were primarily fishermen, sought areas of open, but shallow water and floodplains (Campbell, 1977:165). They settled along the major watercourses, as well as in the drier hinterland (Campbell, 1977:163). The River San practised fishing and lived on many of the waterways threading the delta while the Hambukushu who were primarily into tilling the soil, sought fertile areas away from the fly and lived on the islands in the northern areas (Campbell, 1977:165). The Batawana and Herero who were primarily stock-owners sought fly-free areas of good grazing accessible to surface water (Campbell, 1997:165).

Each group recognised land-use rights. The hinterland San lived in interrelated groups, each of which recognised an area in which it had more or less exclusive hunting and food-collecting rights (Campbell, 1977:166). The Wayei, Hambukushu and River San lived in small interrelated groups, each group having a permanent homestead and a number of groups formed a cluster under one headman. They recognised exclusive hunting, fishing and ploughing rights around each homestead (Campbell, 1977:166). Food collecting rights along waterways were carefully defined, but away from these they rapidly vanished (Campbell, 1977:166). The Bakgalagadi recognised ploughing rights at their homesteads and grazing rights at certain surface water areas such as pans, but they moved around considerably with their herds, return

in to a homestead with permanent water during the dry season (Campbell, 1977:166). The Batawana settled in one large village and among themselves they recognised exclusive ploughing areas and cattle-post areas (Campbell, 1977:166).

Traditionally the Wayei and the River San were fishermen while the Batawana were not and the Hambukushu only fished when not employed with their crops. The River San had their own techniques of fishing and had incorporated these with the Yei techniques (Campbell, 1977:167). They built stone weirs across the mouth of flooded areas, stranding fish as the floods receded; they poisoned pools with *Euphorbia tirucalli* and they speared fish, either from a reed raft or by pushing a mat of loose reeds before them into the shallows in the shade of which the fish hid (Campbell, 1977:167). The Wayei made nets with *mokgotse* (*Sansevieria spp.*) and *Hibiscus caesius* soaked in a solution from *mooka* (*Acacia karoo*), to which were attached floats made from buoyant reeds (*madintsi*). The nets were either strung across open water, towed between two canoes towards the shore or towed toward other canoes whose occupants flailed the water with paddles (Campbell, 1977:167). They poisoned fish using both *Euphorbia* and the crushed bark of the motsebe (*Croton megalobotrys*). They built long fences across rivers made of *Phragmites* reeds closely bound with *Sansevieria* string. The fences contained a series of traps, tabular baskets closed at one end and with a funnel of sharp sticks at the other, through which the fish forced their way going upstream and, thus were caught (Campbell, 1977: 167).

Hunting was a major occupation for most men among almost all the groups in the Delta. The hinterland San hunted with light bows and flightless, poisoned arrows, using for poison the larvae of the *Diamphidia* beetle. The Wayei and Hambukushu also used poison on weighted spear-heads hung above paths frequented by large game. The River San and Wayei trapped large animals using 3m deep pits lining river banks on paths leading to animal watering places (Campbell, 1997:168). The Batawana organised tribal hunts (*matsholo*), which involved one or more regiments armed with spears, axes and clubs. Animals as large as elephant were surrounded and speared or hamstrung and clubbed to death. The Wayei and Hambukushu also organised large hunts, burning reed-beds to evict cane-rats or cornered antelope, and driving lechwe into lagoons, where spearmen stationed in canoes chased and killed them (Campbell, 1977:168). The Wayei and the Hambukushu also built platforms above drinking places and paths, spearing animals which passed beneath them. The Hambukushu also fixed barbed, double-headed hooks to rope made from *mokolane* palm and tied to a bundle of reeds. The hooks were baited and hung on supports above the river surface. Crocodile taking the hook drowned themselves and were later found by the reed-bundle float (Campbell, 1977:168).

Veld foods were of major importance to all except the Herero and Hambukushu (Campbell, 1977:169). Women spent time collecting them and each group had preferred plants although others were available (Campbell, 1977:169). Also for some groups, one wild plant formed a major part of their diet, for instance the dzu/wa San made extensive use of Mongongo nuts (*Rhicenodendron rautenii*) and mounted (and still do) major collecting expeditions during the season. The Wayei favoured the water-lily, tswii (*Nymphaea caerulea*), eating the bulb, stalk and flower (Campbell, 1977:169). Where papyrus (*Cyperus papyrus*) is plentiful the young shoots (koma) are used almost throughout the year. Another reed, tsita (*Prionium serratum*) is crushed, mixed with water and allowed to stand when it often forms a staple diet, particularly during times of crop failure (Campbell, 1977:169). Plants were, and are still used for a wide variety of purposes. The Hambukushu made their homes with mats woven from *Phragmites* reed (letlhaka). *Phragmites* reeds are collected throughout the Delta, poled out in dug-out canoes and used by all except the Herero and a few Batawana to make houses and palisades around their homes (see figure 5.3) (Campbell, 1977:170). Fibre mats were made from the bark of *mokokobuyu* (*Sterculia tomentosa*); dyes were made from *mohetelo* and *morotomod*i (*Pterocarpus angolensis*); beads for decoration came from the seeds of mopiti (*Abrus percatorius*); baskets from a variety of reeds, including *Cyperus articulates* and *Miscanthidium teretifolium*, as well as the fronds from both palms; dug-out canoes from *moporota* (*Kigelia Africana*), *mokutshumo* and *mopororo* (*Lonchocarpus capassa*) and many wooden objects: pots, plates, drums, etc., from *shisha* (*Berchemia discolor*) , *morula*, *shii* (*Burkea africana*) and *Baikiea plurijuga* (Campbell, 1977:170).

Figure 5.3: House in Ngarange thatched with grass and wall made from river reeds (Source author: 2016)

Many other plants were used as medicine, some for religious purposes and others for the cure and prevention of sickness. The bark of *Sclerocarya caffra* was boiled and the water drunk against malaria; *mogonono* (*Terminalia sericea*) leaves were boiled and the liquid drunk to stop purging; *nkarane* (*Harpargophytum procubens*) tubers were boiled and drunk against fever; *loatswa* (*Euphorbia sp.)* was used against snake-bite; *mofufu* (*Securidaca longipedunculata*) was also used for malaria and *semomonane* (*Leonotis micropylla*) was a specific against the common cold (Campbell, 1977:170).

With the exception of the San, every group to some extent owned stock and practised crop production (Campbell, 1977:171). The Herero owned most cattle. The Hambukushu were accustomed to dryland farming and traditionally made their fields in riparian areas, lopping branches and small trees, clearing undergrowth and burning (Campbell, 1977:171). Their main crops were *Sorghum vulgare* and *lebelebele* (*Pennisetum spicatum*), which they supported with groundnuts, melons, pumpkins, gourds and sugar cane (Campbell, 1977:171). A few fields were also cleared in flooded areas, planting taking place as the floods resided (Campbell, 1977:171). The Batawana and Bakgalagadi practised dryland farming, their main crop as red sorghum and also grew maize in small quantities (Campbell, 1977:172). The Wayei were accustomed to using the floodplains and operated mainly by wetlands method growing the same crops as the Hambukushu (Campbell, 1977:172).

Today, the Okavango Delta is still important to its inhabitants as it is a source of livelihood as they still rely on it for fishing, veld products collection, and drawing of water for human and livestock consumption (Kgathi et al., 2005). Veld products collected in the Okavango Delta include palm leaves (*Hyphaena petersiana*), thatching grass (*Eragrostis pallens, Aristida stipitata,* and *Cymbopogon excavates*), river reeds, floristic materials, various fruits and fuel wood (Kgathi et al., 2005:73). River reed such as *Phragmites australis,* a tall and highly productive reed, is the main type of river reed harvested in the Okavango Delta (Kgathi et al., 2005). Reed is generally used as building material, whereby the dried reeds are made into walls, screens, palisades, ceilings and courtyard fences and it is also a source of income although it is not the most important function (Kgathi et al., 2005:78). Studies conducted by Mosepele (2001) shows that 65% of the population of northern Ngamiland depend on fishing as a source of livelihood. The water in the Okavango Delta is al., so used for flood recession agriculture (molapo farming) (Kgathi et al., 2005:73). Basket making has been and is still an important commercial activity in Ngamiland since the early 1970s and therefore provides a source of income for most women living in the area (Kgathi et al., 2005). According to Kgathi et al., (2005:77) in the 1980s, basket weaving provided self-employment to 1 500 and 400 women in Etsha and Gumare/Tubu villages respectively (see Figure 5.4).

Figure 5.4: Okavango baskets on sale in Maun (Source: Author, 2014)

5.3 Values of the Okavango Delta

The process of heritage management must be based on the recognition of values that often go beyond the traditional areas of scientific research and aesthetic importance (Palumbo, 2002:11). It must also be based on the recognition of the people behind the expression of values attached to the heritage resources, and the way in which these values influence the significance of the resource (Palumbo, 2002:11). These values have an impact on the way a site is perceived, understood, and, ultimately, managed (Palumbo, 2002:11). This approach to heritage management is referred to as value-based management. Value-based management is the coordinated and structured operation of a heritage site with the primary purpose of protecting the significance of the place as defined by designation criteria, government authorities or other owners, experts of various stripes, and other citizens with legitimate interests in the place (de la Torre, 2005:5). The values-based approach employs a list of heritage values that are thought to encompass heritage significance known as 'value typologies"' (Fredheim & Khalaf, 2016). Most heritage sites have some measure of most kinds of the values, but the list is not all -encompassing (Mason & Avrami, 2016). In addition, no typology can accurately describe the values of every site, as such a value typology needs to be specific to a particular project or site (Mason & Avrami, 2002). The most common values listed under different typologies include; historical value, artistic value, social value, spiritual or religious value, symbolic and identity value, research value, aesthetic value, natural value, economic value, public value, scientific value, environmental value (Pearson & Sullivan, 1995; Mason & Avrami, 2002; Mason, 2002; Demas, 2002).

One of the most important steps in values-based management is the identification of the values of the place through an elicitation process involving stakeholders (de la Torre, 2005:6). De la Torre (2005) argues that only after this has been done, and in conjunction with a thorough understanding of the physical resources, is management in a position to establish the significance of the place and the appropriate policies and strategies. In, reality, however, planners and managers almost always deal with sites whose primary significance has been established earlier, usually at the time of designation (de la Torre, 2005:6). The significance of the Okavango Delta was established by legislation as a protected area of national importance (Moremi Game Reserve and Wildlife Management Area) and as part of a designation process such as Ramsar designation and World Heritage listing which are based on criteria that consider so-called international importance and universal values. As such all heritage designation schemes are based on

specific criteria that favour certain values. The discussion of the heritage resources and heritage values discussed below include those that have been established earlier at the time of designation of the site and those established as part of this research. Official designations address the values that make sites significant at the national or international level, but in almost all instances exclude other important values held by legitimate stakeholders (de la Torre, 2005). Since heritage places have a multiplicity of values, favouring certain ones at the time of designation can create interesting challenges for management (de la Torre, 2005:6).

Natural values are evident in the survival of habitats or species of flora and fauna, especially at sites that have long been protected but not fully excavated or opened to the public (Demas, 2002). The Okavango Delta possesses natural values as evident by rich unique habitats that support a variety of species of flora and fauna some of which are endangered and threatened. The Okavango Delta also has scientific, research, educational or informational value based in its natural resources in areas such as hydrology, ecology, geomorphology, and natural resources management. The importance of these values is evidenced in the work done at the Okavango Research Institute which has been mainly focused on researching the natural values of the site. This value of the Okavango Delta has been established by designation at national level and international level.

In addition to the natural value, the economic value of the Okavango Delta has been highly regarded, especially in terms of tourism linked to its natural resources. Economic values constitute distinct powerful perspective on heritage values. Any heritage site is an asset in the economic sense, it requires investment to acquire and maintain it, and yields a flow of benefits (Mason & Avrami, 2002:17). Traditionally, the Okavango Delta holds economic value to its traditional inhabitants as since time immemorial has yielded a flow of benefits to them through the numerous and abundant natural resources. Traditional and modern current uses of the Okavango Delta resources provide economic value to local communities through different traditional livelihood activities and tourism. Government and the private sector has invested heavily in wildlife tourism in the Okavango Delta, hence the economic values of tourism have been the primary focus. In fact, the current trend in heritage management in Botswana focuses on the material aspect and the economic values through tourism; hence the neglect of socio-cultural values.

However, this research has revealed that the Okavango Delta has scientific value, research value, and historic value through its archaeological resources. Archaeological sites are valued as records of the past. Information uniquely contained in them has real and potential value for research, education, and the generation of knowledge (Mason & Avrami, 2002:17). These archaeological resources provide a physical

connection to the past and by representing the passage of time in material form, heritage has historical value (de la Torre, 2002:16). This historical value of the Okavango Delta is even evidenced by information on settlement history of the area which gives chronology of the settlement of the area, the groups that settled in the area and the places that they occupied. It further emphasises the symbolic and identity values that different groups attach to the Okavango Delta.

The archaeological resources of the Okavango Delta can yield important scientific information on past climate and environment of the Okavango Delta and natural resources and how past communities have interacted with the environment and used the natural resources. It can help provide insight into addressing current issues of conservation and land use in the Okavango Delta. Already the very little research done has yielded information on diets of past societies as studied by Mosothwane 2011. This information through further detailed research has potential to contribute to knowledge about the Okavango Delta as used in the education sector beyond just the natural and environmental values.

In addition to the archaeological research, scientific, educational or informational value and historical value, the Okavango Delta also has spiritual or special value to minority groups, social value, symbolic and identity value. The heritage resources and values of the Delta are summarised below (Table 5.4).

Table 5.4: Heritage resources, values, and significance of the Okavango Delta

HERITAGE RESOURCES OF THE OKAVANGO DELTA	**HERITAGE VALUES OF THE OKAVANGO DELTA**
Natural resources River systems and channels; Okavango, Kwando/Linyanti Wet and dry habitats: woodlands; riverine forests; grasslands; floodplains and islands Vegetation: in flooded areas e.g. sedges, grasses and aquatic plants Majestic hardwood species: African ebony, Knob thorn and sausage trees Papyrus reeds and water lilies	**Scientific value** – the OD has scientific value in terms of its unique ecological, biological, geomorphological and hydrological processes and archaeological. Related to this scientific value is the **research, educational and informational value**. The landscape has the potential to provide information about past human behaviour, human interaction with the environment, past climatic conditions, past species diversity as evidenced in the archaeological sites in the area which are valued records of the past.

Variety of wildlife such as elephants, hippos, crocodiles, lion, red lechwe, zebra, buffalo to mention a few. Birds and fish species Annual floods in the dry winter season **Cultural resources** **Archaeological resources** Matlapaneng – LSA and EIA. Date from late seventh to tenth century AD. Economy based primarily on herding cattle Xaro – EIA. Found along the banks of the Okavango River. Yielded remains of fish bones and plants. Inhabitants probably practiced foraging combined with fishing Lotshitshi – LSA and EIA. Deposits date to seventeenth century BC. The species composition of the site reflects a more broadly-based economy Qogana – EIA. Said to have been occupied in the 9th and 10th centuries AD Results of studies by Mosothwane (2011) of the stable isotope analysis of the five individuals from EIA context indicate substantial variation in diet and subsistence in Ngamiland. **Cultural landscapes** Goxa Island – Chief N//aekhwe of the //Anikhwe was killed and buried here after	The scientific and research value of the site from the natural sciences perspective is readily recognised, whereas the archaeological aspect has not been the focus for scientific research. It also has educational and informational value on past human behaviour, history and archaeology of the delta. **Historical value –** the material remains as evidenced by the archaeological sites and cultural landscapes provide a physical connection to the past of the different groups found in the OD. They show historical connection to the Delta, dating from the prehistoric times to the present. Some of the cultural landscapes are of **spiritual or special values** to certain groups such as the Bugakhwe and //Anikhwe. The OD also has **symbolic and identity values** to some groups such as the Bugakhwe and //Anikhwe as the cultural landscapes found in most islands are associated with special events and activities such as burial grounds, ancestral lands, ritual/ceremonial places, fishing grounds, hunting grounds and harvesting areas. They identify with the places and give them a sense of belonging. They symbolise important aspects in their lives and history. **Natural values –** the OD is rich in natural resources; unique habitats, species of flora and fauna, hence have unique natural values. **Economic values –** the OD is an asset in that a lot has been invested in it in terms of conservation and tourism.

a protracted battle with Chief Sekgoma Letsholathebe of the Batawana. Was previously used a permanent camp and fishing ground //uakao - Ancestral land/settlement and burial place of the //Anikhwe. It was Chief N//aekhwe's home and court. Many //Anikhwe ancestors were buried here as the community lived here over many years practicing riparian lifestyle N/xoagom (Red Cliff) – was a permanent camp for the //Anikhwe. It is one of the most important spiritual sites of the //Anikhwe where sacrifices of animals and livestock have been made in honour of the ancestors Tcoyi Island – sacred place of the Gumayi people. It is regarded as the birthplace of the clan, thus a point of reference for their identity Gumbo Island – it was a hunting and gathering ground for the Bugakhwe. The island is of spiritual and historical significance to the Bugakhwe who have used it to consult their ancestors and perform sacrifices Mahaya (Du#uxa) – it was a Bugakhwe permanent camp and hunting ground. Many ancestors of the Bugakhwe were buried here. Khwaxa (Kachirachira) – was a permanent camp of the Bugakhwe during the dry	It has and continue to yield a flow of benefits for its various stakeholders in terms of: Supporting local livelihoods; fishing, water, agriculture, harvesting of plants and materials for such as reeds, grass, wood for medicine, building houses, making baskets and mats, mokoro and craft making. Income generation through local tourism (CBNRM), selling of baskets and fish and working in the tourism industry (camps, lodges, safari operators etc.) Supporting tourism at national, regional and international level **Aesthetic value –** the OD is an attractive landscape of natural and cultural beauty. The clear waters, the unique habitats and abundance of flora and fauna make it a beautiful scene. The villages some in the core of the delta and along the river, built of natural materials, people traversing the river channels using dugout canoes (mekoro) provide a unique landscape of people interacting with their environment. The sounds of birds and animals in a quite serene environment provide a peaceful experience. The aesthetic, scientific and educational or informational value of the OD makes it a special place of focus for local, national, and international communities, hence it has social value. It is a focus for national and

season. Many ancestors were buried here and it serves as a spiritual site Kangiye Pool – used by Bugakhwe of Khwai for grass and wild berry harvesting Nbudi Island – used for fishing Xuku (Hippo Pool) – used for fishing. It is of spiritual importance to the Bugakhwe Njamataka – used for reed and grass harvesting Segagama – used for reed and grass harvesting Sexeku – used for reed, grass harvesting and also gathering of fruits **Historical settlements** Njamataka, Xuku flood plain, Dombo Hippo pool and Segagama – excavation yielded pieces of cultural material, including fragments of pottery, iron, glass, and beads as well as remains of carbonised seeds and bones. **Traditional/ local indigenous knowledge systems and practices** Land use practices- use of fire, burning of vegetation to rejuvenate vegetation; clearing of grass and reed to ease flow in watercourses Flood recession farming (molapo farming) – use natural flood cycle to irrigate crops	regional pride. It is also a focus for local pride as indigenous peoples and communities in the area attach cultural sentiments to the area hence a strong bond to the area. Hence it has **social value**.

Resource harvesting skills: traditional techniques of fishing by Wayei and San; traditional hunting skills Craft making skills: use of Phragmites reed (letlhaka) for making houses and palisades around houses, fibre mats, baskets and use of plants for making dyes Exclusive hunting, fishing and ploughing rights Knowledge of plants and their uses (e.g. as medicine) Information/knowledge on species distribution and plant responses to environmental conditions Traditional conservation strategies such as rules for harvesting of Hyphaena petersiana e.g. reeds and grass are only supposed to be harvested after the seeds have developed Fishing methods used relate to conservation Fishers have developed knowledge of the biology of their target species Fishers use different fishing methods during different seasons to target species and used different fishing gear in different habitats to exploit different species	

5.4 Significance of the Okavango Delta

The Okavango Delta is a layered landscape whose significance is witnessed at local, national, regional and international level.

5.4.1 Local significance

The significance of the Okavango Delta to local communities is based on its cultural, historical, spiritual, symbolic and identity value. The cultural and historical value of the Okavango Delta to local communities is evidenced by information on settlement history of the area, the cultural landscapes associated with different groups in the area and the archaeological sites found in the area. In addition, the Okavango Delta has spiritual or special value to minority groups, social, symbolic and identity value. Local communities such as the San attach spiritual significance to specific areas such as islands, pools, and burial grounds. These places symbolise important aspects in their history hence give them a sense of belonging and identity (refer to Table 5.4 above). However, the current management of the site emphasises the economic significance at the expense of the above mentioned values. This is done through the development of tourism based on the natural resources of the Okavango Delta as per the CBNRM program. The establishment of community-based tourism initiatives under this program has resulted in income generation and employment of the local people (Mbaiwa, 2003:451). Local communities in the Okavango Delta have been allocated land by Tawana Land Board on which through joint venture partnership with tour operators have been able to generate revenue for them through hunting and photographic tourism (Mbaiwa, 2003:452). For example, community-based organisations such as Khwai Development Trust (KDT) which is operating in NG/18, Sankuyo Tshwaragano Management Trust (STMT) operating in NG/34 and Okavango Kopano Mokoro Community Trust (OKMCT) operating in NG/32, have established tourism ventures that have created jobs for the local communities and revenue for investing in the socio-economic needs of their people. KDT is running campsites in NG/18, STMT operates a campsite and cultural village in NG/34 while OKMCT provide game drives in NG/32 using both traditional dug-out canoes (mokoro) (see Figure 5.5) and engine boats. Mbaiwa (2003:452) further emphasises the importance of tourism to the local communities by arguing that although the idea for adopting community-based tourism was purely based on achieving conservation needs, it has become one of the main employment and revenue earners for the people of Ngamiland district.

Figure 5.5: Tourists in a mokoro excursion in NG/32, Boro River, Okavango Delta (Source author, 2014).

5.4.2 National significance

The Okavango Delta is one of the most resource-rich ecosystems in the country (Mmopelwa, 2005). It is an inland drainage system which is important for approximately 1300 plant species, 71 fish species, 33 amphibians, 64 reptiles, 444 birds and 122 mammals (ODMP, 2008:31). The delta also contains high densities of large mammal species particularly the elephant. It is the habitat of one of the largest remaining populations of the African Wild Dog (*Lycaon pictus*) and is a stronghold for the Sitatunga antelope (*Tragelaphus spekii*) and the Nile crocodile (*Crocodilus niloticus*). Two resident bird species, the Wattled Crane (*Burgeranus carunculatus*) and the Slaty Egret (*Egretta vinaceiqula*) are globally threatened (ODMP, 2008:31). The location of the Okavango Delta wetland in a semi-arid region of Ngamiland in a dry country like Botswana makes it an important natural asset together with Chobe River. The flooding of the Okavango Delta in the dry winter season transforms this dry land into a green oasis of exceptional natural beauty that is not seen elsewhere in Botswana. It is therefore regarded as a wetland of national importance together with the Makgadikgadi Pans and the Chobe-Linyanti system. This rich biodiversity and wetland characteristics has earned the Okavango Delta a status as a national protected area; approximately 7% of the area falls within the Moremi Game Reserve, protected through the Wildlife and

National Parks Act of 1992 and a further 65% is protected under the same act as a wildlife management area (Jansen & Madzwamuse, 2003:144).

The wide variety of wildlife species and a relatively pristine wilderness habitat attracts tourists from around the world, making the Okavango Delta one of the most important tourist destinations in Botswana (Mbaiwa, 2005:158). The tourism importance of the Okavango Delta has been recognised nationally through the 2016 National Vision for the country, emphasising the need to further develop the tourism potential of the wildlife resources of the Okavango Delta (Vision 2016:20). The growth of tourism has stimulated the development of a variety of allied infrastructure and facilities such as hotels, lodges and camps, airport and airstrips, within and around the Okavango Delta (see Figure 5 .6) (Mbaiwa, 2003, 2005). In fact, tourism which is concentrated in the northern part of the country, the Okavango Delta and Chobe River, is the second most important economic activity in Botswana after diamonds (Mbaiwa, 2002, 2003, 2005). It accounted for 4.5% of the gross domestic product (GDP) or 7% of the non-mining GDP in1997 (Mbaiwa, 2002, 2003). Revenue from tourism come from taxes paid to government by tour operators, those operating accommodation facilities and revenue collected from tourists visiting protected areas (Mbaiwa, 2003). Revenue from Botswana's protected areas increased from P5,835,051 in 1995 to P9,280,987 in 1999 and much of this revenue was collected from the Northern parks of Chobe National Park and Moremi Game Reserve (Mbaiwa, 2003:450). The Okavango Delta is therefore important nationally as a hub for biodiversity and a wetland in a dry country and economically as a driver of tourism. This has been foreseen in the National Vision 2016 as it states that the wealth of the Delta is a heritage which Botswana must understand but also manage and develop. The tourist potential of the Delta is a vital component in efforts to diversify the economy, and to place the importance of the natural resources

at the forefront of national thinking (National Vision 2016, 39).

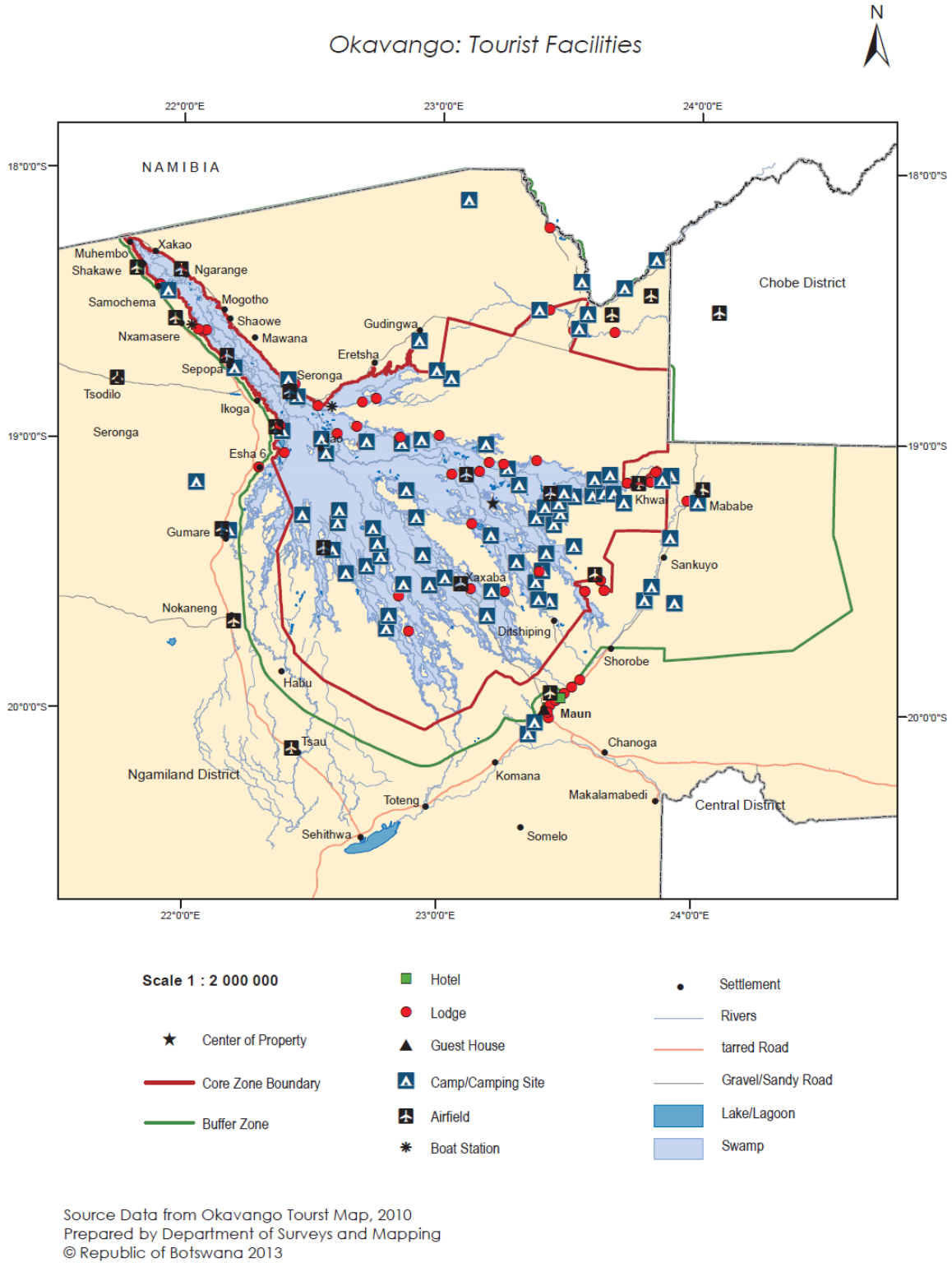


Figure 5.6: Tourism Facilities in the Okavango Delta (Source: Okavango Delta Nomination Dossier, 2013)

5.4.3 Regional Significance

The regional setting of the Okavango Delta as part of the Okavango River Basin originating from the Angolan highlands, flowing through Namibia and then Botswana (ODMP, 2008), and the Kavango Zambezi Trans Frontier Conservation Area (KAZA TFCA) makes it part of an important culturally and historically rich area, biodiversity hotspot and water resource in southern Africa. Groups found in the countries making up this area, Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia, and Zimbabwe share identity and indigenous knowledge systems. There is evidence of historical and cultural linkages and continuity that spans the countries that make up this region. For instance, the KAZA TFCA boasts a wealth of cultures and heritage. A total of 625 sites have been recorded and mapped, including monuments, historical, archaeological, religious and anthropological areas of interest (KAZA, 2015: 11) (see Figure 5.7). The quantity and variety of these sites reflect the rich history and cultural diversity of resident communities including the San, Tonga, Lozi, Herero, Ndebele, Bayei, Hambukushu, Basubiya, and Tswana that live within the boundaries of the KAZA TFCA (KAZA,2015: 11).

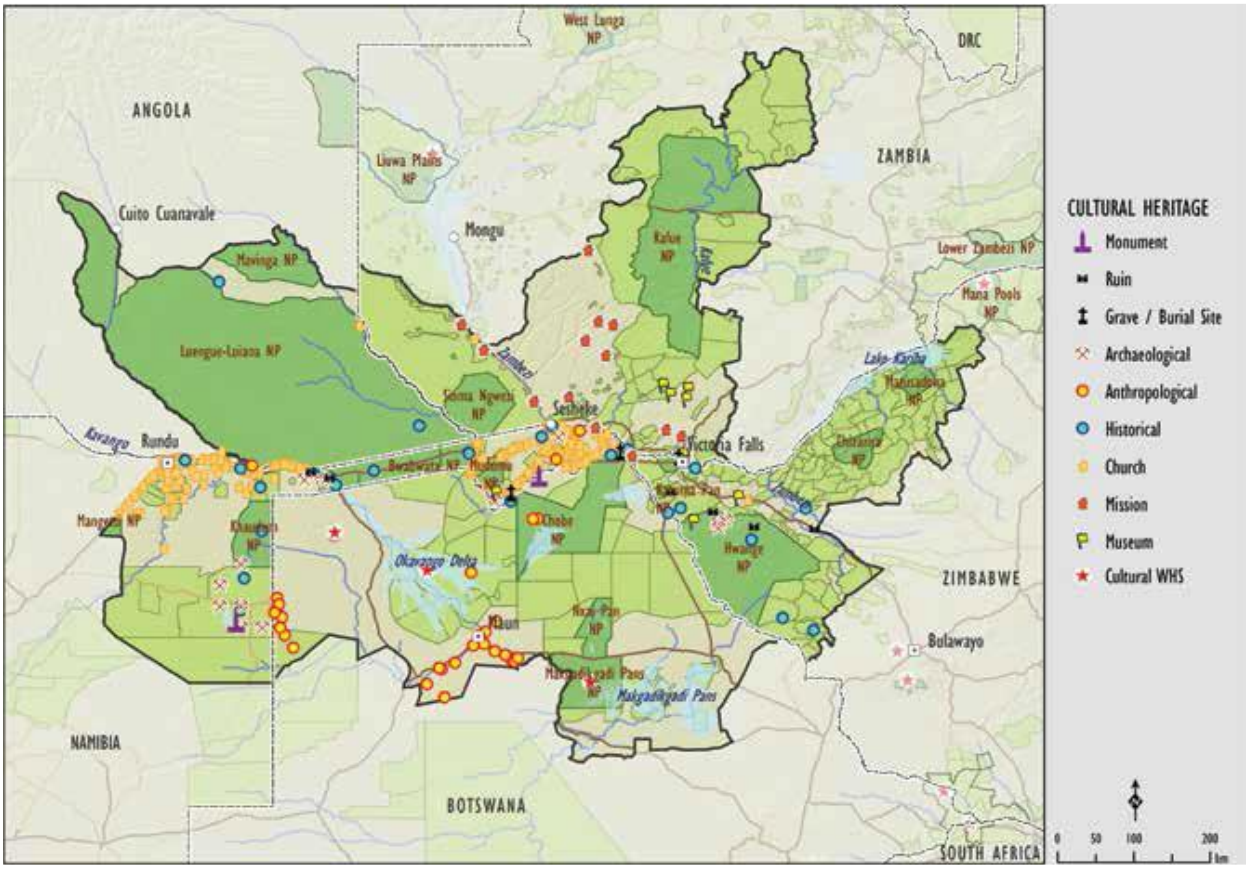


Figure 5.7: Cultural heritage sites across KAZA TFCA (Source: KAZA TFCA Master Integrated Development Plan, 2015)

The significance of the Okavango River Basin is protected through the Permanent Okavango River Basin Water Commission Agreement of 1994. However, it should be noted that the conservation and management of the River Basin privileges the biodiversity and water resources over the cultural resources. The cultural and historical significance of the area has not been given priority. The regional significance of the Okavango Delta is also demonstrated through conservation and tourism as it is part of the Kavango Zambezi Trans-Frontier Conservation Area (KAZA TFCA). The KAZA TFCA is a conservation and development initiative of the governments of Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe. It is situated in the Okavango-Zambezi river basins where the borders of the five countries converge (KAZA, 2015:2). The KAZA TFCA vision is to establish a world-class trans-frontier conservation area and tourism destination in the Okavango and Zambezi River Basin regions of Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe within the context of sustainable development (KAZA, 2015:3). As part of its mission, KAZA TFCA strives to sustainably manage the Kavango ecosystem, its heritage and cultural resources (KAZ,2015: 3). The KAZA TFCA initiative focuses on the coordinated development and management of the wildlife and tourism assets in the Kavango and Zambezi River Basins. The five partner countries want to have better protection of the regions biological diversity and establish a premier African tourism destination in southern Africa (KAZA, 2015:6). The Okavango Delta is part of the Kavango-Zambezi ecosystem which is characterised by large-scale migrations of mega fauna and several IUCN Red Data animal species (KZA, 2015:6). The main tourism attractions in the KAZA TFCA are World Heritage sites such as Mosi-oa-Tunya/Victoria Falls (Zambia & Zimbabwe), Tsodilo Hills (Botswana) and the Okavango Delta (Botswana). This regional significance of the Okavango Delta was earlier recognised in the National Vision 2016 as it states that the proximity of the Delta to other renowned sites such as Victoria Falls will ensure a steady flow of tourist traffic for years (National Vision 2016, 39). However, there are other primarily-wildlife related attractions and cultural heritage areas which with development could further enhance the tourism appeal of the KAZA TFCA (KAZA, 2015:11). The Okavango Delta is therefore important regionally as part of a network of historical linkages and cultural continuity of the different people of the region, biodiversity hotspot, wetlands systems, and tourism attraction in Southern Africa.

5.4.5 International significance

The uniqueness of the Okavango Delta in north-western Botswana as an internationally important wetland in semi-arid Southern Africa received recognition by the proclamation of the Delta, an alluvial fan of about 20 000 km2 with unique hydrology and ecology, as an international Ramsar site in 1997 (Van der Post, 2004:122). Ramsar Sites are recognised as wetlands of international importance vital for biodiversity conservation and are listed in the Ramsar list if they fulfil one of the nine criteria. Ramsar site designation is based on the concept of 'international significance'. The Okavango Delta System designation as a Ramsar Site is based on it being a site of international importance containing representative, rare or unique wetland type, sites of international importance for conserving biological diversity and supporting water birds (see Table 5.5) and applies to criteria 1 to 6 of the nine criteria. For more details on the Ramsar Site values refer to Appendix B.

Table 5.5: Bird species in the Okavango Delta and their % of biogeographic population (Source: Botswana Ramsar Information Sheet 2006)

SPECIES	**% of biogeographic population**
the near threatened African Skimmer, *Rynchops flavirostris*	up to 100 breeding pairs and 200 non-breeding individuals representing 2% of the biogeographic population
the vulnerable Wattled crane, *Grus Caninculatus*	100 to 500 breeding pairs and 1 000 to 2 000 individual birds representing 2.5% to 12.5% of the biogeographic population
the Black-winged pratincole, *Glareola nordmanni*	an average of 2 000 birds representing 5.4% of the biogeographic population
the Green pygmy-goose, *Nettapus auritus*	with 6000 to 15 000 breeding pairs and up to 40 000 individual birds, representing between 7% to 22.9% of the biogeographic population
the white-backed duck, *Thalassornis leuconotus*	with 200 breeding pairs and 350 individual birds, representing between 1.9 to 2.2% of the biogeographic population

the Fulvous whistling duck, *Dendrocygna bicolor*	with an average of 4500 individual birds, representing about 1.8% of the biogeographic population
the African spoonbill, *Platalea alba*	with an average of 500 breeding pairs, giving 1% of the biogeographic population
the Marabou, *Leptoptilos crumeniferus*	has 300 to 400 breeding pairs and up to 5 000 individual birds, giving up to 2.5% of the biogeographic population
the Saddle-billed stork, *Ephippiorhychus senegalensis*	with 1500 to 2000 individual birds, representing 6 to 8% of the biogeographic population
the Squacco Heron, *Ardeola ralloides*	up to 10 000 breeding pairs, representing 6.7% of the biogeographic population
the Black heron, *Egretta ardesiaca*	with 100 to 1000 breeding pairs and 2 000 individual birds representing up to 2% of the biogeographic population
the Little egret, *Egretta garzetta*	with up to 4 000 breeding pairs, representing 2.3% of the biogeographic population
the Great white pelican, *Pelecanus onocrotalus*	with up to 2 000 individual birds, representing 10% of the biogeographic population

The ODRS falls under IUCN (1994) protected areas category IV Habitat/Species Management Area, a protected area managed mainly for conservation through management interventions. This category is defined as an area of land and/ or sea subject to active intervention for management purposes so as to ensure the maintenance of habitats and/or to meet the requirements of specific species.

IUCN defines a 'protected area' as ''An area of land and/or sea especially dedicated to the protection and maintenance of biological diversity, and of natural and associated cultural resources, and managed through legal or other effective means'' (IUCN, 1994). However, it is the researcher's view that the ODRS does not only fall under one IUCN protected area management category, it might fall under other categories. It can fall under category II National Park, protected area managed mainly for ecosystem protection and recreation, based on the presence of Moremi Game Reserve which is managed as a

National Park. It can also fall under category V, Protected Landscape/Seascape, protected area managed mainly for landscape/seascape conservation and recreation. Lastly it can fall under category VI Managed Resource Protected Area, protected area managed mainly for the sustainable use of natural ecosystems.

It is the researcher's view that the protected areas management category of the ODRS be reviewed as in its current form it limits the identification and recognition of other values of the site such as cultural values. This also contradicts what is stated in section 23 of the Ramsar Information Sheet (RIS) on the social and cultural values in which the State Party agree to the existence of these within the site. This makes one to question whether the ODRS is only managed for its habitats and species diversity? Does it only have biodiversity values? What about aesthetic, cultural, archaeological, historical, recreational and socio-economic values that have been discussed above? Is the area not providing ecosystem services to its inhabitants? Is it not significant to the local communities living in the area? Does it not have sacred areas associated with the indigenous peoples and local communities? What are the implications of this on the management of the ODRS and in particular the ODNWHS?

The RIS under section 23 requires information on the social and cultural values e.g., fisheries production, forestry, religious importance, archaeological sites, social relations with the wetland etc. and to further distinguish between historical/archaeological/religious significance and current socio-economic values (RIS 2009-2014 Version). It further requires to state "if the site is considered of international importance for holding, in addition to relevant ecological values, examples of significant cultural values, whether material or non-material, linked to its conservation origin, and/or ecological functioning" (RIS 2009-2014 Version).

In the case of the Okavango Delta system, it was acknowledged that the site has social and cultural values and these were justified as per the categories above. It is stated for category (i) that the ethnic groups have considerable traditional knowledge of flora and fauna in the Delta region, including plants used for medicinal purposes. It further notes that this ethno-botanical knowledge provides an important resource base for cultural tourism and possible genetic extraction for pharmaceutical and other causes.

Furthermore, under category (ii) it states that the Bayei, the Batawana, the Hambukushu, the Herero and the Banoka (River Bushmen) ethnic groups are of notable significance as traditionally their lifestyles are based on rivers and wetlands. The Bayei are responsible for bringing to the Delta the ''mokoro'' (dug-out canoe), which has become symbolic of travel in the Okavango Delta. The Hambukushu who are also concentrated in the delta region, are the original makers of the baskets that have made Botswana famous

for the crafts (BWPRIS879, 2006:17). Finally, under category (iv), it states that there are few cultural sites within the Okavango Delta which are significant for the various tribal groups found within the ODRS. It further states that the various islands and lagoons have been over millennia of years be used for settlements, fishing and harvesting of resources by inhabitants of the Delta and that the cultural and spiritual attachment to these areas by local communities cannot be over-emphasised (BWPRIS879, 2006). The question to be asked is why have these not be included in the Okavango Delta Management Plan? Why have they not been the focus of research at ORI just like the natural attributes of the delta? And mostly why have they not been documented and be the focus of conservation, protection, management and also promoted as a significant aspect of the Okavango Delta wetland system? This study seeks to refocus the management of the OD from that of a Habitat/Species Management area to a landscape with ecological, cultural, environmental, and/or historical continuity. The focus of this research is therefore to establish the local values (socio-cultural values) of the Okavango Delta and the need to further expand on the current information on this aspect and document it as part of the Okavango Delta landscape for the purposes of its promotion, conservation and management.

The international significance of the Okavango Delta was further cemented when it was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage list as the 1000th Natural World Heritage site in June 2014. World Heritage inscription is based on the concept of outstanding universal value. Their inscription is based on them satisfying one or more of the 10 criteria and condition of integrity and/or authenticity and having adequate protection and management. The Okavango Delta was inscribed under criterion (vii), (ix) and (x) as a Natural World Heritage site.

The outstanding universal value of the Okavango Delta is based on the fact that it is the only inland delta that floods in the dry season, a unique hydrological event that defines this unusual system (see Figure 5.8).

Figure 5.8: Okavango Delta Panhandle area (Source author, 2011)

It is one of a very few vast, natural scenic spectacular inland delta or alluvial systems where its waters never reach the sea, draining instead into the desert sands of the Kalahari basin and the extensive Makgadikgadi Salt pans. Formed by the earth's geological processes and forces, it bursts into a green oasis wonderland during the harsh, dry and dusty winter season (see Figure 5.9).

Figure 5.9: Okavango Delta (Source Okavango Delta Nomination Dossier, 2013)

It is the only inland delta system south of the equator. The Okavango Delta's unique habitats (see figure 5.10 & 5.11) support a variety of wildlife species some of which are threatened and endangered (see Figures 5.12, 5.13 & 5.14). The full details of the property's World Heritage values are found in Appendix C.

Figure 5.10: Vegetation in the Okavango Delta (Source author, 2011)

Figure 5.11: Palm Trees in the Okavango Delta (Source author, 2011)

Figure 5.12: Giraffes in the Okavango Delta (Source Okavango Delta Nomination Dossier, 2013)

Figure 5.13: Hippopotamus in NG/32, Okavango Delta (Source author, 2011)

Figure 5.14: Elephants in NG/32, Okavango Delta (Source author, 2011)

5.5 Conclusion

In summary, this chapter has shown that the Okavango Delta is layered landscape rich in both natural and cultural resources and endowed with multiple values and significance by the multiple stakeholders that associate with this wetland area. This significance is manifested at local, national, regional and international level. The multiple values found within the Okavango Delta include scientific value, research value, educational or informational value, historical value, cultural values, spiritual or special value to minority groups, social value to minority groups and national and international community, symbolic and identity values to local communities such as the Bugakhwe and //Anikhwe, natural values, aesthetic values and economic values at local, national, regional and international level. However, the focus of conservation and management has been the natural values, their scientific and research value, aesthetic and the economic values of tourism primarily based on natural resources. The argument of this thesis based on the framework of multivocality is that the management of the Okavango Delta should not privilege universal values over local values.

It has been established that the Okavango Delta is of archaeological importance and hence research value in understanding past environments and human behaviour in relation to wetlands. This chapter has also demonstrated that local communities have historical ties to the Okavango Delta; hence there are areas which are of historical and or cultural value to them. To demonstrate this, the study utilised two groups of San communities in Khwai and Ngarange as case studies. This therefore calls for more detailed studies to document the local values of the Okavango Delta with the aim of informing the management of this layered landscape.

Chapter 6

Governance Framework and stakeholders of the Okavango Delta

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will focus on the contemporary governance of the site. Discussion will focus on institutional arrangements, legislation and policies at local, national, regional and international levels. Key government departments involved in the management of the site and their roles will be discussed together with all stakeholders involved in the utilisation and management of the site, the private sector, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and community based organisations (CBOs) and local communities. This chapter will also discuss the Community-based Natural Resources Management Program as practiced and implemented in the Okavango Delta. The discussions will shed light on the way the site is currently governed and managed.

6.2 Institutional arrangements: local level

6.2.1 Introduction

The management of the Okavango Delta and its resources is multi-sectoral and involves central government departments, parastatals, local authorities and the private sector (National Action Plan (NAP), 2011). The Okavango Delta Natural World Heritage site is a protected area which forms the Moremi Game Reserve, managed as a National Park and Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs). As such governance of the property falls within the mandate of the Department of Wildlife & National Parks. The department has staff in the Moremi Game Reserve and those in the regional office responsible for the day-to-day management of the site. In terms of decision making and stakeholder involvement, it has a Park Management Board which advises MEWT and DWNP on issues concerning the park and budgeting. Membership of the Board consists of DWNP, DOT, BTO, representatives from the tourism industry, the Park Manager and the Regional Wildlife Officer. For the rest of the property which is divided into controlled hunting areas, governance is shared with local communities through community-based organisations and the private sector who respectively manage concessions in the area.

The Okavango Delta Natural World Heritage site forms part of the Okavango Delta Ramsar Site (ODRS). Its governance and management is therefore anchored on structures of the ODRS and its management

planning documents. The ODRS is managed through the Okavango Delta Management Plan of 2008 (ODMP).

Other important documents used in the management of the Okavango Delta include the Ngamiland Integrated Land Use and Land Management Plan 2005 and the Botswana National Action Plan 2011(NAPs) developed as part of the wider Strategic Action Programme (SAP) for the Okavango River Basin, the Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA) for the Okavango Delta (2012), Mid-term Evaluation Report for the ODMP (2012).

6.2.2 Management Planning Documents: Local and national level

This section discusses the two major management planning documents of the Okavango Delta, the ODMP of 2008 and the National Action Plan (NAP) of 2011 (see Table 6.1). The ODMP has been in use since 2008 to manage the ODRS and was adopted as management plan for the ODNWHS. However, while still working on the nomination of the OD as a World Heritage site, a new plan was being developed for the Okavango River Basin part of Botswana as part of the Strategic Action Programme for the Okavango River Basin spearheaded by the International Waters Unit of the Department of Water Affairs. At the same time a mid-term evaluation of the ODMP was in the process and a Strategic Environmental Assessment for the ODRS was also developed.

Table 6.1: Management planning documents of the Okavango Delta

Document	**Objectives of the Plan**	**Implementing Agency**	**Comments (status of implementation)**
Okavango Delta Management Plan 2008	The overall objective of the ODMP is to carefully manage the ecosystem of the Delta in a manner that ensures equitable and sustainable utilisation, which will provide benefits to the local, national as well as international stakeholders (Nomination Dossier, 2012:64). The overall goal of the ODMP is made up of three strategic goals, each with	Department of Environmental Affairs	The plan has not been effectively implemented as shown through the mid-term evaluation carried out in 2012 (Mid-term Evaluation Report, 2012)

	several strategic objectives. The strategic goals are to: establish viable institutional arrangements to support integrated resources management in the Okavango Delta; ensure the long-term conservation of the Okavango Delta and the provision of existing ecosystem services; and to sustainably use the natural resources of the Okavango Delta (OD) in an equitable way and support the livelihoods of all stakeholders (Nomination Dossier, 2012:64). The ODMP is therefore aimed at ensuring integration of resource management and long-term conservation as well as provision of benefits of the present and future well-being of the people, through sustainable use of its natural resources (Nomination Dossier, 2012:65).		
National Action Plan Botswana 2011-2016	These have been developed from the SAP by basin states for their part of the basin. The specific objective of the NAP is to promote the sustainable management, development and use of natural resources in the Okavango Delta in order to improve livelihoods, conserve biodiversity and protect	Department of Environmental Affairs	The plan has not been effectively implemented, part of its activities implemented through the Southern African Regional Environmental Program (SAREP) (Interview, Sekgowa Motsumi, 2016)

	the ecosystem. It runs from 2011-2016 and its implementation uses the existing structures for the implementation of the ODMP except the inclusion of the Project Management Unit (PMU) which is new but will be hosted at DEA Maun Office to run the day to day activities of NAP. DEA will be the coordinating unit of NAP implementation and will ensure the connection and continuity of the ODMP and NAP implementation. The PMU will work closely with the International Waters Unit (IWU) and the Okavango Wetlands Management Committee (OWMC). Overall guidance at strategic direction will be provided by the proposed Water Resources Council. The NAP has identified six thematic areas for the Botswana part of the Cubango/Okavango River in response to the problems identified at a trans boundary level and the priority areas of concern identified at national level. These are; livelihoods and socio-economic development, water resources management, land management, biodiversity and environment,		(Programme Coordinator, OKACOM)

	policies and institutions and research, information and communication. NAP is important in that it recognises that implementation of the key provisions for the different thematic areas especially land management and policies and institutions depends to a large extent on the involvement and participation of local communities. Under land management theme, one of the outcomes is 'increased levels of community participation and use of indigenous knowledge systems in land use and sustainable management processes. Under policies and institutions, it states that 'engaging local communities in decision-making would also strengthen support and ownership of decisions, policies, and programs and benefit from the indigenous knowledge that local resource-users possess (NAP, 2011).		

6.2.3 Management planning documents: Regional level

The regional setting of the Okavango Delta as part of the Okavango River Basin subject it to other regional management planning documents developed for the sustainable utilisation of the basin and its resources (see Table 6.2).

Table 6.2: Regional Management Planning Documents

Document	Mandate
Strategic Action Programme (SAP) for the Okavango River Basin	This is a Strategic Action Programme that builds on the knowledge collected by the Trans-Boundary Diagnostic Analysis (TDA) of the Okavango River Basin. The overall objective of the SAP is to promote and strengthen the integrated, sustainable management, use and development of the Cubango-Okavango River Basin at national and trans boundary levels according to internationally recognised best practice in order to protect biodiversity, improve livelihoods of basin communities and the development of the basin states. The SAP is a coordinated management response to the problems posed by the driving forces and priority areas as identified by the TDA. Implementation of the SAP is the responsibility of the basin states independently as components of their NAPs and collectively as part of OKACOM. The SAP raises the importance of stakeholder participation in the planning process for the basin (NAP, 2011).
Trans-Boundary Diagnostic Analysis of the Cubango-Okavango River Basin (TDA)	The aim of the TDA was to work towards defining an acceptable development space in the Cubango-Okavango River Basin. The TDA identified four key factors that will drive change in the Okavango/Cubango River Basin as population dynamics, poverty, climate change, and change in land use. These drivers will have an impact on the

	integrity and functioning of the Cubango/Okavango River Basin, causing several areas of concern for the riparian countries such as; variation and reduction of hydrological flow, changes in sediment dynamics, changes in water quality, and changes in the abundance and distribution of biota. The priority concerns for the Botswana part of the basin are; changes in flow regime, changes in water quality, changes in land use, changes in abundance and distribution of biota, changes in livelihood options, inadequate policies and institutions, and inadequate research, information and communication. (NAP, 2011).

6.2.4 Traditional/local structures

As a resource located in Ngamiland district, the decisions regarding its utilisation and management are also influenced at a local level through different structures of government (see Table 6.3).

Table 6.3: Local Management structures for the Okavango Delta

Institution	**Mandate**
District Administration (DA)	Coordinates the activities of central government departments in the district and oversees the implementation of government policies (ODMP, 2008:17)
Tribal Administration	It is responsible for tribal matters in the district. This includes the administration of tribal justice through the traditional courts (Kgotla) system as well as providing advice on tribal issues. all traditional Chiefs are under the Tribal Administration (ODMP, 2008:17).
District Council (North West District Council)	The District Council consists of the Council Executive and staff headed by the Council Secretary and the Council Political leadership which consists of local Councillors and is chaired by the Council Chairman. The Council provides a wide range of services to communities in the district within the ODNWHS. In addition the Council provides a political forum for district development issues

	affecting communities through their representative councils (ODMP, 2008:17).
Tawana Land Board (TLB)	The Tawana Land board administers all land in the district including the ODNWHS. The land board which receives policy guidance through the Department of Lands, is statutorily charged with the responsibility of administering, coordinating, allocating and managing tribal land (residential, commercial, industrial, agricultural and tourism) and furthermore with the responsibility of determining and defining land use zones within its jurisdiction (ODMP, 2008:16).
District Land Use Planning Unit (DLUPU)	It serves as an advisory organ to the land board in matters relating to land use planning and management. DLUPU is a subcommittee of the District Development Committee (DDC) and is made up of different officers from ministries and departments with a stake in land use and related matters (ODMP, 2008:17).
District Development Committee (DDC)	It comprises of all government departments and parastatals. It is responsible for development of the District Development Plan, its implementation and monitoring. It is chaired by the District Commissioner (ODMP, 2008).
Okavango Wetlands Management Committee (OWMC)	This is a district multi-sectoral structure responsible for guiding implementation of the Okavango Delta Management Plan. It is chaired by the District land authority, the Tawana Land Board and Department of Environmental Affairs is the Secretariat. It consists of representatives from government departments, civil society organisations, community based organisations and Okavango Research Institute (NAP, 2011).
Village Development Committee (VDC)	Coordinates and implement development priorities in the village. It comprises of elected members of the local communities
Community Based Organisations (CBOs)	CBOs have been established through the CBNRM Programme to manage concessions (Controlled Hunting Areas) on behalf of the local communities.

	The CBOs in Ngamiland District have an established structure, CBNRM Forum, where they engage with their Joint Venture Partners, the private sector and government on matters related to management of resources in their concession areas. The CBOs have a 15-year lease agreement with the Tawana Land Board for the use of resources (ODMP, 2008:18).

6.2.5 NGOs, Private/Public Sector

The Okavango Delta has a wide variety of stakeholders with different interests including NGOs, the private sector, public institutions who play an important role in its conservation and management. As such their roles are summarised below (see Table 6.4).

Table 6.4: Role of NGOs, Private Sector, and Public Sector in the Management of the Okavango Delta

Institution	**Mandate**
Okavango Research Institute (ORI)	Formerly known as the Harry Oppenheimer Okavango Research Institute, ORI was set up in 1994 in Maun to work on the conservation of the Natural systems in Northern Botswana particularly the Okavango Delta. Research at ORI is aimed at enhancing the understanding the natural system of the Okavango Delta (and indeed the Basin) and its relationship between human activities as well as its functioning. The institute specialises in hydrology and water resources management, ecology, social aspects of natural resources management, and tourism (ODMP, 2008). ORI was instrumental during the development of the ODMP and World Heritage nomination dossier for the Okavango Delta through the provision of available information about the Okavango Delta and its resources.
Kalahari Conservation Society (KCS)	KCS is a non-governmental organisation based in Botswana whose objectives are to promote the knowledge of Botswana's rich wildlife resources and its environment through education and publicity; to encourage and in some cases finance research into issues affecting these resources and their conservation; and to promote and support policies of conservation towards

	wildlife and its habitat (ODMP, 2008:18). It does this through collaboration with other private sector, NGOs, government departments and communities. It supports CBNRM in Botswana and in particular Ngamiland where the ODNWHS is situated. It has a long and successful history in working in the Okavango delta; currently involved in supporting CBNRM in the Okavango Delta, support DEA in the implementation of the ODMP, working with OKACOM in implementing projects and carrying out research in the Okavango River Basin. Support the CBNRM Forum and CBO projects through funding and technical advice.
Trust for Okavango Cultural and Development Initiative (TOCaDI)	It is the Ngamiland branch of Kuru Development Trust which is based in Shakawe. It supports remote area communities in land use planning, strengthening of CBOs and identifying and setting up income generating projects (thatching grass harvesting and marketing, basket making, fishing and community tourist enterprises) (ODMP,2008:18). It supports indigenous peoples and local communities in developing and promoting their cultural heritage. It has been instrumental in the development of the Tsodilo Community Development Initiative Project, development and implementation. They have also been instrumental in the establishment of CBOs in the Okavango Delta Panhandle and supporting them in their CBNRM projects such as basket making.
Ngamiland Council of Non-governmental Organisations (NCONGO)	Established in 2008, it is an umbrella body of NGOs in Ngamiland dealing with social and economic. It is a hub for capacity building, networking and communication in the region and liaises across sectors and advocates nationally and internationally. It represents over 50 civil society organisations in Ngami and Okavango districts and these organisations deal with HIV/Aids, Orphans & Vulnerable Children, CBNRM, Youth Empowerment and Environmental Conservation. It supports CBOs in the Okavango Delta in Capacity building.

Hotel and Tourism Association of Botswana (HATAB)	It is an association representing the interests of a number of companies in the hotel, tourism and related services sector (like air transport companies). It provides its members with a platform to engage government on issues affecting the tourism industry. It also takes part in the CBNRM District Forum and sends representatives to almost all workshops and reference groups that deal with the management of natural resources (ODMP, 2008:18).
Botswana Guides Association (BOGA)	It represents the interest of tour guides operating in Botswana including the Okavango Delta.

6.2.6 Institutional Arrangements at National Level: Government Departments and their mandates

The diverse nature of the Okavango Delta resources subjects it to management by different sectors of government cutting across different ministries, each using their own legislations and policies. These are summarised below (Table 6.5).

Table 6.5: Government Departments and their mandates

Ministry	**Department**	**Mandate**
Ministry of Environment, Wildlife & Tourism (MEWT)	Department of Environmental Affairs (DEA)	Responsible for the overall coordination of environmental activities in the country. It also coordinates environmental research, undertakes environmental education, and ensures implementation of environmental impact assessments. DEA is the government institution responsible for the implementation of the Ramsar Convention in Botswana and thus is the authority to coordinate wetlands management processes in the ODRS in collaboration with District authorities (ODMP, 2008:16).

	Department of Forestry & Range Resources (DFRR)	The DFRR has direct management authority over the utilisation of vegetation resources. The department is responsible for fire management activities. It also carries out extension work on forestry management and range resources (ODMP, 2008:16).
	Department of Wildlife & National Parks (DWNP)	The DWNP is primarily responsible for wildlife (including fisheries) conservation and utilisation. Given the diverse wildlife resources in the ODNWHS, the role of DWNP in the management of the Okavango Delta is inevitable (ODMP, 2008:16).
	Department of Tourism (DOT)	The department is established with a mandate to regulate tourism enterprises, set out procedures with respect of applications for tourism licenses, undertake inspections and conducts appeals. It also serves as secretariat to the National Council on Tourism (NACT) and the Tourism Licensing Board (ODMP, 2008:16).
	Department of National Museum & Monuments (DNMM)	Manages and protect cultural and natural heritage in the country. As the custodian of the UNESCO 1972 Convention on the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, it provides guidance and direction on the implementation of the convention and its requirements in regard to management of World Heritage sites in Botswana including the Okavango Delta.
	Department of Waste Management & Pollution Control (DWMPC)	Regulates waste management and control pollution in the country.
	Botswana Tourism Organisation (BTO)	Promotes tourism in the Okavango Delta by the private sector and local communities. It is responsible for

		marketing Botswana's heritage resources locally, regionally and internationally.
Ministry of Minerals, Energy & Water Resources (MMEWR)	Department of Water Affairs (DWA)	The DWA is responsible for the water resources in the whole country. It has the responsibility for supervision and control over ground and surface water utilisation, flow monitoring and control of aquatic weeds in the delta such as salvinia molesta (ODMP, 2008:16). Responsible for hydro-monitoring of the Okavango Delta, water quality monitoring, wastewater management facilities for compliance and controlling and managing salvinia molesta, Mitchell.
	International Waters Unit (IWU)	It deals with trans boundary water issues, and in the case of the Okavango Delta, it is through the Permanent Okavango River Basin Water Commission (OKACOM)
Ministry of Lands & Housing (MLH)	Tawana Land Board	Responsible for administrating, coordinating, allocating and managing tribal land. Part of the Okavango Delta falls within tribal land.
	Department of Lands and Housing	Responsible for administrating, coordinating, allocating and managing state land. Part of the Okavango Delta falls within state land.
Ministry of Agriculture (MOA)	Department of Animal Health & Production	The department is responsible for veterinary services which support its animal health and production mandate. This include erection and maintenance of veterinary fences, disease control, artificial insemination and tsetse fly control (ODMP, 2008:17) In the case of the Okavango Delta, responsible for the management of Foot and Mouth disease and managing and monitoring veterinary fences in the area.

	Department of Crop Production	The department is responsible for arable agriculture and for increased crop production in the district through technical expertise, extension, support services and specific programmes (ODMP, 2008:17).

6.2.7 Regional and International Institutional Arrangements

The position of the Okavango Delta as a trans-boundary water resource spanning the three riparian states of Angola, Botswana and Namibia subject its management to institutional structures established by the three riparian states on joint management of the resource. Furthermore, its international status as a wetland of international importance (Ramsar site) and a natural World Heritage property of outstanding universal value (World Heritage site) also places its conservation and management under international institutional structures established for the management of such sites. These are discussed below (Table 6.6).

Table 6.6: Regional and International Institutional Structures and their mandates

Institution	**Mandate**
Permanent Okavango River Basin Water Commission (OKACOM) Secretariat	The objective of OKACOM is to act as a technical advisor to the contracting parties (the governments of the three states) on matters relating to the conservation, development and utilisation of the common interest to the contracting parties (Source: www.okacom.org) Its role is to anticipate and reduce those unintended, unacceptable and often unnecessary impacts that occur due to uncoordinated resources development (Source: www.okacom.org). OKACOM's approach to manage the river basin is based on equitable allocation, sustainable utilisation, sound environmental management and the sharing of benefits (Source: www.okacom.org).

	The Commission is made up of three representatives from each riparian state. Technical support and advice is provided by the Okavango Steering Committee (OBSC). OBSC is made up of three representatives from each country, and by issue-based task forces. It implements decisions of OKACOM at national level. The OBSC establishes task forces of technical specialists as needed to examine specific types of issue. Three task forces currently advise the commission, institutional task force, the biodiversity task force and the hydrology task force (Source: www.okacom.org). The OKACOM Secretariat (OKASEC) is an internal organ of OKACOM, with the legal capacity and mandate to assist OKACOM in implementing its decisions. It also provides administrative support and assumes an instrumental role in information sharing and communication. The secretariat is headed by the Executive Secretary who works under the guidance of the commissioners through the Okavango Basin Steering Committee and is currently hosted by Botswana in Maun (Source: www.okacom.org)
UNESCO World Heritage Committee	The Committee is composed of 21 members, four of which are from the African region. The main functions of the committee are as follows: To identify in cooperation with State Parties on the basis of tentative lists and nominations submitted by State Parties, cultural and natural properties of outstanding universal value and to inscribe those properties on the World Heritage List; Examine the state of conservation of properties inscribed on the World Heritage List through processes of Reactive monitoring and Periodic Reporting and state of conservation reports submitted by State Parties as recommended by the committee; Decide which properties inscribed on the World Heritage List are to be inscribed on, or removed from the list of World Heritage in Danger; Decide whether a property should be deleted from the World Heritage List;

	Determine how the resources of the World Heritage Fund can be used most advantageously to assist State Parties in the protection of their properties OUV (Operational Guidelines, 2015).
The Secretariat to the World Heritage Committee (World Heritage Centre)	Some of the main tasks of the Secretariat are: The implementation of the decisions of the World Heritage Committee and resolutions of the General Assembly and reporting to them on their execution; The receipt, registration, checking the completeness, archiving and transmission to the relevant Advisory Bodies of nominations to the World Heritage List; The coordination of studies and activities as part of the Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List; The organisation of the Periodic Reporting Coordination and conduct of Reactive Monitoring, including Reactive Monitoring missions, as well as coordination of and participation in Advisory missions as appropriate; Assistance to State Parties in the implementation of the Committee's programmes and projects: and The promotion of World Heritage and the Convention through the dissemination of information to state parties, Advisory Bodies and the general public (Operational Guidelines, 2015).
Ramsar Convention Secretariat	It carries out the day-to-day coordination of the conventions activities. Some of the main functions of the Secretariat are: Maintain the list of Wetlands of International Importance and note any additions and changes to the list Maintain the Ramsar Sites Database

	Help convene and organise the Conference of Contracting Parties (COP) and regional pre-COP meetings, the meetings of the Standing Committee and of the Scientific & Technical Review Panel (STRP) Publish the Decisions, Resolutions, and Recommendations of the COP and the Standing Committee Provide administrative and communication support to the STRP Provide administrative, scientific, and technical support to Contracting Parties, especially in relation to the implementation of the Ramsar Strategic Plan Organise Ramsar Advisory Missions (RAM) at the request of Contracting Parties and contribute to follow-up of RAM reports Develop cooperation with other conventions, intergovernmental institutions, and national and international NGOs Administer funding programmes set up to support the implementation of the convention, seeking financial contributions, inviting and evaluating project proposals, and overseeing expenditure Inform the Contracting Parties and the public of developments related to the convention

6.3 Legislative Context

6.3.1 Introduction

The management of heritage places, at whatever level, takes place within a legal and administrative framework established by governments (Pearson & Sullivan, 1995). The legislation and regulatory frameworks of the Okavango Delta are based on its wide range of resources. The key national and international legislations and policies used in the protection of the site are discussed below (Table 6.7).

6.3.2 National Legislation

Table 6.7: Summary of National Legislation relevant to the Okavango Delta

Act	Mandate	Implementing Agency
Environmental Assessment Act 2011	It regulates procedure for the examination or consideration of the environmental consequences of projects, policies and programmes. It emphasises precautionary principle and the need for public participation in the decision-making process in conducting environmental impact assessments. It also makes reference to trans boundary environmental impacts, which may have an impact on the environment of another country (ODMP, 2008; OD Nomination Dossier, 2013).	Department of Environmental Affairs
Wildlife Conservation and National Parks Act 1992	It provides for the conservation and management of wildlife in Botswana. The Okavango Delta has several sites protected under this act, the Moremi Game Reserve and Wildlife Management Areas and Controlled Hunting Areas. These habitats are important for the conservation of biodiversity and endangered species (ODMP, 2008; OD Nomination Dossier, 2013).	Department of Wildlife and National Parks
Fish Protection Act 1975	This Act provides for the regulations, control, and protection of fish and fishing in Botswana. The act gives the minister power to make regulations to control and protect fish resources. The current implementing regulations were developed in 2008, and are still contested by locals, mainly on the categorisation of commercial vs subsistence fishers (NAP 2011:26).	Department of Wildlife and National Parks

Forest Act of 1976	The Act provides for the regulation and protection of forests and forests products in Botswana. The ODNWHS is blessed with abundance of vegetation resources and these needs to be protected.	Department of Forestry and Range Resources
Tourism Act of 1992	The Act makes provision for the regulation of the tourism industry with regard to promoting its development and wellbeing. The Okavango Delta is a major tourism destination in Botswana. Tourism is a major activity in the ODNWHS and it benefits the local and national economy. It provides income and jobs for the local population.	Department of Tourism
Water Act of 1992	The Act regulates the management and use of water resources within Botswana. The major drive of the Okavango Delta system is water. The use and management of water within the three riparian states has great influence on the maintenance and sustenance of the Okavango Delta.	Department of Water Affairs
Monuments and Relics Act 2001	The act provides for the preservation and protection of ancient monuments, ancient workings, relics and other objects of aesthetics, archaeological, historical or scientific value or interest and for other matters connected therewith. The act also calls for Pre-Development Impact Assessments for projects, policies or programmes on heritage resources. The act also requires that officers in charge of heritage secure the utilisation of national monuments, monument, relic, recent artefact of protected heritage as part of the cultural or natural heritage of Botswana for the benefit of the community.	Department of National Museum and Monuments
Tribal Land Act	This Act assigns all the rights to tribal land to the land boards which are said to hold the lands in trust for the citizens of Botswana. The Act assigns functions to the land boards which were previously under the powers of the	Land Board

	Chiefs. These include the granting and cancellation of land rights, control and imposition of restrictions on the use of tribal land (NAP 2011).	

The acts discussed above are implemented by different departments and structures housed at different ministries, hence it is important to have a multi-stakeholder approach to management of the Okavango Delta.

6.3.3 National Policies and Strategies

The management of the Okavango Delta is informed by national policies and strategies some of which have been developed to accommodate international commitments regarding the management of wetlands of international importance such as the Okavango Delta. These are discussed below (Table 6.8).

Table 6.8: Summary of National Policies and Strategies relevant to the Okavango Delta

Policy/Strategy	**Mandate**	**Implementing Agency**
National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan (NBSAP) of 2004	The strategy and action plan was developed in response to Botswana's obligations to the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity. The goal of the strategy and action plan is long-term health of Botswana's ecosystems and related species and to encourage sustainable and wise use of resources through the provision of a framework of specific actions designed to improve the way the biodiversity is perceived, utilised and conserved. This plan remains largely unimplemented (NAP, 2011)**.**	Department of Environmental Affairs
Draft Wetland Policy	The wetland policy seeks to conserve Botswana's wetlands, in order to sustain their ecological and socio-economic functions. Specifically, the policy aims to rehabilitate and conserve national and trans-boundary	**Department of Environmental Affairs**

	wetland ecosystems by providing linkages between existing policies and legislation. The policy incorporates the international commitments arising from the multilateral agreements such as Convention on Biological Diversity and the Ramsar Convention. The specific objectives of the policy are to: Promote coordinated wetland management at local, district and national levels through appropriate institutions Promote planning and implementation of ecologically sustainable wetland conservation including management plans for wetlands of national and international importance DEA is the lead institution for the implementation of this policy and is expected to draw up an implementation plan, which will include timeframe, activities and defining institutional responsibilities. The policy is still in draft form and therefore cannot be implemented (NAP, 2011).	
Wildlife Conservation Policy of 1986	The policy provides strategies for development of a viable and commercial wildlife sector through the practice of sustainable resource utilisation and conservation in Wildlife Management Areas and in the process addressing issues of community livelihoods through citizen participation in the wildlife industry. The Okavango Delta is well endowed with wildlife resources, the management of which is critical. The Okavango Delta as a tourism product is dependent on the conservation and proper management of wildlife resources.	Department of Wildlife and National Parks
Tourism Policy of 1992	The policy provides guidelines for planning, developing and managing tourism in Botswana. It is designed to ensure that tourism activities are carried out on an	Department of Tourism

	ecologically sustainable basis. The policy provides local communities with direct and indirect benefits from tourism activities as well as encouraging communities to appreciate the value of wildlife and its conservation. It avails opportunities for the rural areas to participate in wildlife-based activities including tourism.	
National Water Conservation Policy and Strategy Framework of 2002	The water policy has among its objectives, the protection, conservation, and efficient use, management of water resources, and protection and restoration of the environment. The policy seeks to use water conservation to promote environmental sustainability, economic efficiency and social equity. Botswana has a huge water deficit and the Okavango Delta is viewed by some stakeholders as an alternative source of water. The relevance of this policy is critical in that through the promotion of water conservation measures it helps to divert attention to the Delta as alternative water source.	Department of Water Affairs
National Water Master Plan (NWMP) 2007	This is the current document guiding all water resources management in Botswana. The reviewed plan calls for water resources stewardship, water demand management and to apply the principles of Water Resources management in water planning. The NWMP review also recommends that all future development plans, whether at district or national level, be subjected to a Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA) in order to determine the impact of the plan on water demand. In addition, assessment of the impact of projects on water demand in their localities is made a standard requirement of all future projects EIAs (NAP, 2011).	Department of Water Affairs

6.4 International Context

Botswana has signed and ratified several Multilateral Environmental Agreements. Of most relevance to the Okavango Delta is the Convention on Wetlands of International Importance especially as Waterfowl Habitat of 1971 (Ramsar Convention), the UNESCO Convention on Biological Diversity of 1992 (UNCBD), the Convention on International Trade of Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) of 1973 and the UNESCO Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage of 1972. At regional level, the conservation and management of the Okavango Delta is also governed by protocols and agreements such as the Revised SADC Protocol on Shared Water Courses of1995, and the Permanent Okavango River Basin Water Commission of 1994. Others include the SADC Protocol on Development of Tourism of 1998 and the SADC Protocol on Wildlife Conservation and Law Enforcement. These are discussed below (Table 6.9).

Table 6 .9: Summary of Regional and International Legislation

Legislation/Policy	**Mandate**	**Responsible Institution**
Revised SADC Protocol on Shared Water Courses	The objective of the protocol is closer cooperation for the judicious, sustainable and coordinated management, protection and utilisation of shared watercourses. It is a regional framework agreement for the management of shared watercourses and closely follows the Convention on the Law of Non-Navigational Uses of International Waters. It is highly important as a means of developing sustainable water resources management for the region's watercourses and for reducing conflict over the resources.	Department of Water Affairs (MEWR)
Permanent Okavango River Basin Water	The agreement commits Angola, Botswana and Namibia to promote the coordinated and environmentally sustainable development of the	Department of Water Affairs (MEWR)

Commission Agreement of 1994 (OKACOM)	trans boundary resource, Cubango-Okavango River Basin (ODMP 2008, Okavango Nomination Dossier 2012, National Action Plan 2011)	
SADC Protocol on Development of Tourism of 1998	The objectives of the protocol are to use tourism as a vehicle to achieve sustainable social and economic development, and to ensure equitable, balanced and complementary development of the tourism industry region-wide. The Okavango Delta is one of the iconic tourism products within the SADC region. Within Botswana, the Okavango Delta is a major tourism destination which supports the economy of the ODRS. The Okavango Delta also forms part of the Kavango Zambezi Trans-Frontier Conservation Area. The intention is to offer the area as regional tourism product, hence the relevance of the provisions of the protocol (ODMP, 2008).	Department of Tourism (MEWT)
SADC Protocol on Wildlife Conservation and Law Enforcement of 2003	Its principal objective is to establish common approaches to the conservation and sustainable use of wildlife resources and to assist with the effective enforcement of laws governing those resources. Some of its aims are to assist in building national and regional capacity for wildlife management, conservation, and enforcement of wildlife laws; to promote the conservation of shared wildlife resources through the establishment of trans-frontier conservation areas; to facilitate community-based natural resource management practices for management of wildlife resources. The Okavango Delta is rich in wildlife resources and hosts a	Department of Wildlife and National Parks (MEWT)

	significant number of community-based organisations who benefit from wildlife resources (ODMP, 2008).	
UNESCO 1972 Convention on the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (World Heritage Convention)	The convention recognises natural and cultural heritage of outstanding universal value and designates them as World Heritage Properties. It requires state parties with listed sites to provide legislation and management systems for their inscribed properties to protect their outstanding universal values. This should be done with the involvement of all stakeholders in particular indigenous peoples and local communities. The Okavango Delta as a Natural World Heritage site is important in this aspect.	Department of National Museum and Monuments (MEWT)
United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD)	The objectives of the convention are to conserve biological diversity, promote the sustainable use of biodiversity component and the fair and equitable sharing of the benefits arising out of the utilisation of genetic resources. The convention is conscious of the importance of the cultural values of biological diversity and its components. It recognises the close and traditional dependence of many indigenous and local communities embodying traditional lifestyles on biological resources and the desirability of sharing equitable benefits arising from the use of traditional knowledge, innovations and practices relevant to the conservation of biological diversity and the sustainable use of its	Department of Environmental Affairs (MEWT)

	components. The Okavango Delta is rich in biodiversity and genetic resources, the use and conservation of which is within this framework.	
Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES)	The aim of the convention is to prevent extinction of endangered species by controlling international trade in the endangered species and their by-products. CITES deal with trade in a number of wetland flora and fauna species, including elephants, and therefore is relevant to the management of the Okavango Delta which is home to endangered species including elephants.	Department of Wildlife and National Parks (MEWT)
Convention on Wetlands of International Importance especially as Waterfowl Habitat of 1971 (Ramsar Convention)	The convention recognises Wetlands of International Importance and places them on the Ramsar List. At the centre of the Ramsar philosophy is the 'wise use' of wetlands. The mission of the convention is "the conservation and wise use of all wetlands through local and national actions and international cooperation, as a contribution towards achieving sustainable development throughout the world''. The Convention binds Botswana to formulate and implement a plan promoting the conservation of the listed wetland, in this case the Okavango Delta. To this end the Okavango Delta Management Plan of 2008 (ODMP) was developed to fulfil this obligation. Botswana is also expected to promote the wise use of the wetland and the conservation of	Department of Environmental Affairs (MEWT)

	wetlands and waterfowl by establishing nature reserves. State parties to the convention are also obliged to consult with each other about implementing the convention's obligations, especially in the case of a wetland extending over territories of more than one state party or where a water system is shared by more than one state party. The Okavango Delta is part of the Okavango River Basin, a water system shared by Angola, Botswana and Namibia hence the need for the three riparian states to consult each other in making decisions on the use and management of the river basin. This is done through the Permanent Okavango Water Resources Basin Commission Agreement of 1994.	

6.5 Conclusion

In summary, this chapter has shown that the Okavango Delta is a layered landscape with multiple stakeholders. The different stakeholders include government departments at both central and local government, traditional leaders, political leaders, local communities, non-governmental organisations, community-based organisations, academia, private sector (tourism operators), and international conservation agencies. This chapter has shown that decision regarding the conservation and management of the Okavango Delta are made within different structures at local, national, regional and international level and these are guided by different legislations, policies, strategies, and planning and management documents.

The challenge then is how to ensure that a system of management is in place to cater for the needs and voices of different stakeholders in the conservation and management of the property without disadvantaging other stakeholders such as marginalised groups. How do you ensure the harmonisation of

policies in the implementation so that we do not privilege certain pieces of legislation or policy over others? The tendency has been that the management of World Heritage properties has emphasised adherence to world heritage convention requirements and relegated local requirements especially those dealing with local values. This is even made difficult by the fact that most African countries have not domesticated the international conventions to suit the local context. They have also failed to take advantage of new developments in the concept of heritage and heritage management as per the UNESCO Operational Guidelines, the Nara Document on Authenticity and new resolutions passed under the Ramsar Convention on the management of wetlands. This is further complicated by the lack of understanding of the Operational Guidelines and how they are interpreted by most site managers of World Heritage properties and heritage managers in general. This thesis therefore argues that, within a framework of multivocality, multiple voices are offered a platform through structures of governance that allow the full participation of all stakeholders in making decisions regarding the management of heritage places as complex as the Okavango Delta. It affords reflexivity and collaboration between multiple stakeholders for the good of heritage.

Chapter 7
Results, Discussion and Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results of data analysis based on the two objectives of the study namely to characterise the existing management system for the ODNWHS and to investigate local values associated with the site as perceived by different stakeholders. Based on the research outcomes, it is clear that the management of the Okavango Delta is a mix of modern and traditional systems of management. However, apart from being managed as a natural site, modern management approaches dominate which tends to marginalise local values and by extension the full participation of local communities. When viewed within a global perspective, this finding brings into sharp focus, the tension between local values and Outstanding Universal Values that make heritage of international significance. For the Okavango Delta to be managed in a way that will achieve strong local relevance in a context of universal values, local communities and their local knowledge must be incorporated more and more into the management of this significant heritage.

7.2 Results

The findings to each of the two objectives are presented below:

7.2.1 Desktop Survey

7.2.1.1 Characteristics of the current management of the site

Documents related to the ODNWHS such as the ODMP 2008, the Nomination Dossier 2013, and NAP 2011, characterise the current management system of the property as formal and led by the state through the Ministry of Environment, Natural Resources Conservation & Tourism (MENT) with the involvement of local communities and the private sector through CBNRM. This is because MENT is the predominant user and manager within the government of the resources of the ODNWHS. The management of the property is guided by the Okavango Delta Management Plan (ODMP) of 2008 which provides a framework for sustainable use through which all sector plans and programmes operate (Nomination Dossier, 2013:129). The Department of Environmental Affairs is responsible for the day-to-day management of the site through the support of existing multi-sectoral structures in the district such as the District Development Committee (DDC), District Land Use Planning Unit (DLUPU) and Okavango Wetlands Management Committee (OWMC) in accordance with the Okavango Delta Management Plan (ODMP). Therefore, the

multiple stakeholders are involved in the management of the property at different levels through the multi-sectoral structures mentioned above. However, there are three other institutions mentioned as key in the management of the property such as Department of Wildlife and National Parks within MENT, Tawana Land Board in the Ministry of Lands and Department of Water Affairs in the Ministry of Minerals, Energy and Water Resources. The Department of Wildlife and National Parks is key as wildlife is a major resource in the Okavango Delta. Furthermore, Tawana Land Board is key as the entire area of the property is communally owned and the land board administers and manages the land on behalf of communities while the Department of Water Affairs is an important player as the Okavango River is part of the property and part of the Okavango River Basin. The Department of Water Affairs manages water resources in the country and trans-boundary water resources.

According to the Nomination Dossier (2013), since the Okavango Delta is part of the Okavango River Basin, it is managed regionally through a tripartite agreement between Angola, Botswana and Namibia. It further states that at international level it is managed as a Ramsar site.

7.2.1. 2 Local values associated with the site

The researcher also used archival information collected from representatives of indigenous peoples by Department of National Museum & Monuments as part of supplementary information requested by the IUCN during the evaluation of the nomination dossier for the Okavango Delta. IUCN had felt that the dossier was very thin on community involvement. The information includes key areas of traditional use such as Sacred Islands which have served as ancestral lands/settlements, burial places and sacred places, hunting grounds and among others fishing areas (refer to Table 5.2 and 5.3).

Results of a multidisciplinary study initiated by the Archaeology Unit and History Department of the University of Botswana in collaboration with the Department of Archaeology at the University of Tromso provided information on the archaeology and cultural heritage of the area. The project investigated the archaeology, settlement history and society of various communities in eastern Ngamiland, focusing initially on areas bordering the River Khwai and in the Moremi Game Reserve (Damm et al., 1998).

Cultural heritage is an important aspect of the Okavango Delta, yet the area has been neglected academically, in terms of systematic archaeological and historical research. The wildlife and tourism interests, highly promoted in the area, tend to portray this part of the Okavango Delta as a relatively unoccupied wilderness where ‘nature’ rules supreme (Damm et al., 1998:344).

However, fieldwork under this study has established that the concept of environmental management and maintenance is not foreign to local communities such as the Bugakhwe of Khwai. They are of course familiar with the continuing practice of burning the grass to rejuvenate vegetation. In addition, they used to clear the grass and reeds to ease the flow. According to Damm et al., (1998), they claim that now, when they are no longer permitted to do this, the reeds block many watercourses, preventing the onwards flow of water. They also used the natural flood cycle of the River Khwai to irrigate their crops.

Furthermore, the multidisciplinary study conducted by the Archaeology Unit and History Department of University of Botswana and the University of Tromso also established that the community of Khwai had settlements, fields, and hunting camps both within the confines of Moremi Game Reserve and various points along the River Khwai from the four rivers area eastwards to Xharaxhasa and Segagama. Among the various settlements occupied along the route, was the site at Njamataka (Damm et al., 1998:348). Another settlement is Xuku flood plain which falls within the current boundaries of Moremi Game Reserve (Damm et al., 1998:348). According to the study, the people were attracted to the place by the supply of water, and while at Xuku, they had big fields and grew "everything", citing millet, sorghum, beans and pumpkins as the main crops (Damm et al., 1998:348). Other settlements areas include the area around Dombo Hippo Pool and Segagama opposite the site now occupied by Tsaro Lodge and on the outskirts of the Bayei village of Sankuyo (Damm et al., 1998:348).

In addition, test excavations and surveys at a sample of the named former Bugakhwe settlements, including those of Njamataka and Zankuyo supports information by the Bugakhwe of their recent past. Pieces of cultural material, including fragments of pottery, iron, glass, and beads as well as the remains of carbonised seeds and bones from what could either be ash/rubbish dumps and/or windbreak floors and hearths were recovered (Damm et al., 1998:348). According to Damm et al., (1998), knowledge of the elders from Khwai has been useful in identifying the old settlements as remains at the sites are very scarce. In addition, ongoing research that traces areas with cultural significance of communities within the Okavango Delta World Heritage site has identified sites and landscapes of cultural significance (Keitumetse, 2016) (refer to Figure 5.2).

Recent studies on the indigenous knowledge and livelihoods of communities living in and around the Okavango Delta shed light on the way they utilised, conserved and managed their resources (Cassidy et al., 2011). According to Cassidy et al., (2011) communities in and around the Okavango Delta are still dependent on natural resources and indigenous knowledge pertaining to the use and management of these resources has helped sustain both people's livelihoods and the environment on which they are

based. They argue that many of the livelihood activities such as basket-making, flood recession farming, fishing, making and using mekoro have been carried on for many generations and therefore can be regarded as indigenous knowledge (Cassidy et al., 2011:80). In fact, the knowledge related to these activities is not only about meeting inhabitants' immediate needs but also about conserving resources for the future (Cassidy et al., 2011). Understanding the social and ecological factors that influence the availability of these resources is a core component of indigenous knowledge in the Okavango Delta (Cassidy et al., 2011:80). Actually, people have a lot of information on species distribution and plant responses to environmental conditions (Cassidy et al., 2011).

In the pre-independence period, there were rules and sanctions for the management of basket-weaving resources in some of the areas in the Okavango Delta such as the island of Wabe Qoroga near Etsha where there were rules for regulating harvesting *of Hyphaena petersiana* and for excluding others from harvesting the resources (Cassidy et al., 2011). In addition, reeds and grass are only supposed to be harvested after their seeds have developed and this tradition/conservation rule is still practised today by communities and also by community based organisations in their concession areas (Cassidy et al., 2011). For instance, the Okavango Kopano Mokoro Community Trust (OKMCT) has rules for regulating and sanctioning the use of thatching grass in the area it has resource management rights over (Cassidy et al., 2011:82). The conservation of natural resources is also evident in the fishing methods used. Survey by Mosepele (2001) has shown that traditional fishing gear is still in use in the fishery such as hook and line, baskets, gill nets, spears and traps. In addition, fishers have developed an intimate knowledge of the biology of their target species and hence know when to set their gill nets and when to remove them from the water (Cassidy et al., 2011). Furthermore, they used different fishing methods during different seasons to target species and different gears in different habitats to exploit different fish species (Cassidy et al., 2011). For instance, gill nets and hooks are used in deep water while other gears such as barrage traps and fishing baskets are used in relatively shallow water either at flood arrival or recession (Cassidy et al., 2011).

The people of the Okavango Delta have used fire as a traditional management tool for hundreds of years (Cassidy et al., 2011). This was done to improve access and visibility through the removal of moribound vegetation, encouraging sprouting and palatable new shoots in grasses to provide livestock grazing and to attract animals for hunting and to give new recruits of seasonal plant species space to emerge (Cassidy et al., 2011). Originally, the Chiefs controlled the location and timing of fires. An area could not be burned

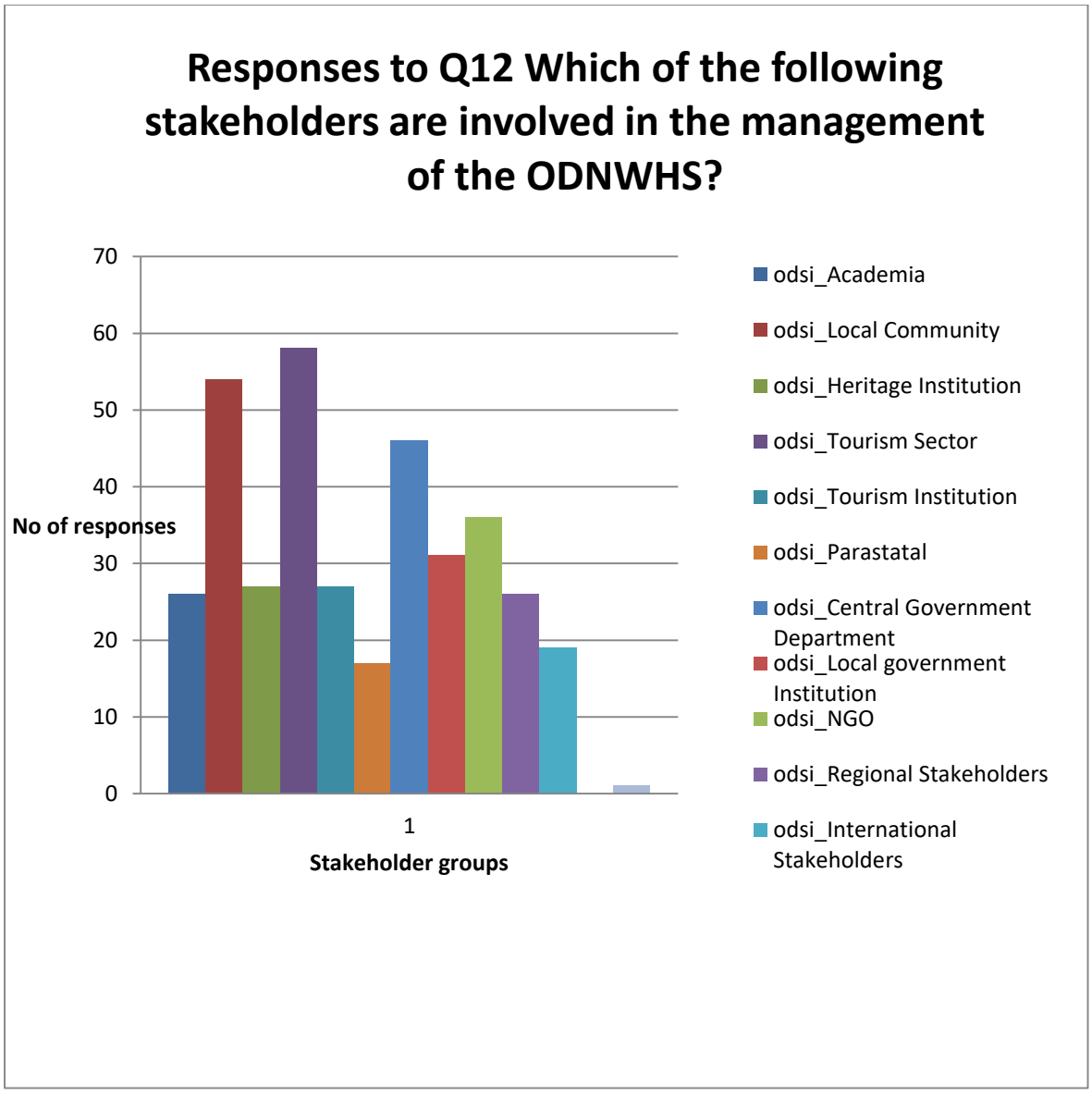
in consecutive years or before late winter, after the grasses used for thatching had dropped their seeds (Cassidy, 2003).

7.2.2 Questionnaires

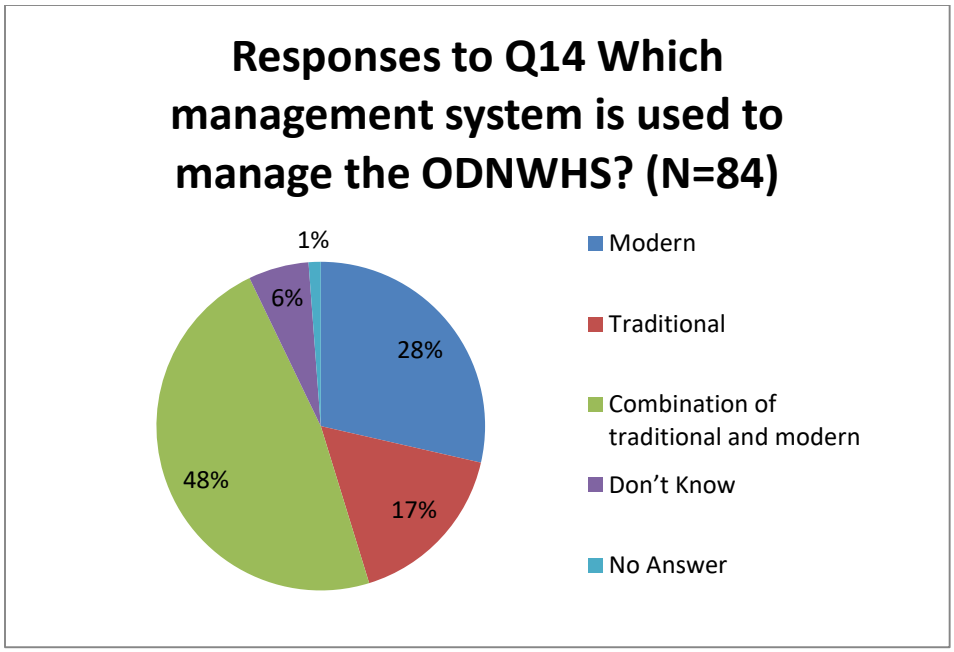
7.2.2.1 Characteristics of the Current management system of the ODNWHS

Because often there is a difference between official position and the unofficial position, interviews were performed to understand the characteristics of the current management system for the property. The questions further probed on the effectiveness of the current system and whether the values associated with all stakeholders were included in the management structures. They were also asked about the management system which is used to manage the property (Question 14), whether the system is effective (Question 15) and if the management plan include all the values of the property (Question 16). They were also asked if there was a governing body or structure in place used for managing the property (Question 19) and if they are part of the structure or governing body (Question 20).

It is important to note that stakeholder groups were predefined but an allowance was left for respondents to self-define themselves. When asked which stakeholders are involved in the management of the ODNWHS, the respondents responded as follows: Tourism Sector (58), local community (54), central government (46), and local government (31), NGO (36), Heritage Institution (27), and Tourism Institution (27), Regional (26), International (19) and Parastatal (17).



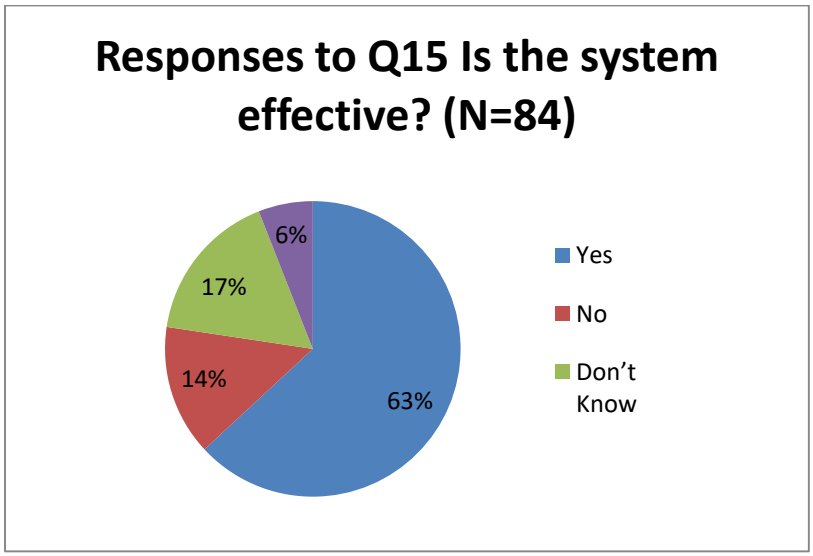
Analysis of the questionnaire responses revealed that a combination of both traditional and modern management systems is used to manage the ODNWHS. Out of the 84 respondents, 40 (48%) selected the variable of combination of traditional and modern management system, 24 (28%) selected modern management system, 14 (17%) selected traditional management system, while five (6%) did not know which management system is used, and one (1%) did not answer.



From the local community category, out of 46 respondents, 23 (50%) selected combination of modern and traditional, 11 (24%) selected traditional and nine (20%) selected modern while 2(%) did not know which management system is used and 1 (%) did not answer. Therefore, respondents from the local community category also agree that the management system used to manage the ODNWHS is a combination of both modern and traditional management systems. Out of 27 respondents from the government category, 15(55%) selected a combination of modern and traditional, 11(41%) selected modern, none selected traditional, while one (4%) did not know. From the tourism sector category, out of 11 respondents, four (36%) selected modern, three (27%) selected combination of both modern and traditional, while two (18%) selected traditional and two (18%) said they did not know.

The questionnaire revealed that the management system is effective. Out of the 84 respondents, 53 (63%) selected Yes to the question, "Is the system effective?'', 12 (14%) selected No, while 14 (17%) said they don't know and 5(6%) did not answer. Out of 46 respondents from the local community sector category, 31 (68%) selected Yes to the question, "Is the system effective?", seven (15%) selected No, while seven (15%) said they did not know and one (2%) did not answer. Out of 27 respondents, 18 (67%) selected Yes to the question, "Is the system effective?", three (11%) selected No, while three (11%) said they don't know and three (11%) did not answer. Out of 11 respondents, six (53%) selected Yes to the question, "Is the system effective? ", three (9%) selected No, while one (9%) said they did not know and one (9%) did not answer. It is important to note that to the tourism sector category respondents, the system they are referring to is modern management system which is different from the one selected by the local

community and government sector categories respondents, which is a combination of both traditional and modern management systems. Asked why they thought the management system was effective, they explained that it protected the site, it has a management plan that was developed through a participatory process that involved all stakeholders including local communities. They further said the development of the ODMP of 2008, brought together all stakeholders in the management of the site through its different structures such as Okavango Wetlands Management Committee (OWMC) including local communities.

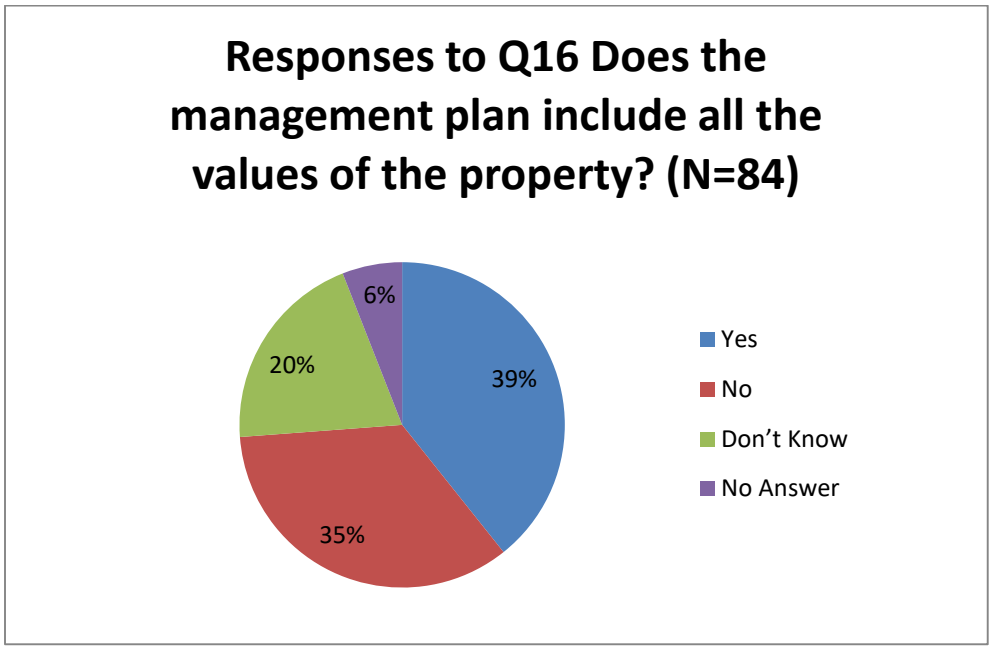


The questionnaire revealed that the management plan includes all the values of the property, although there was a thin margin between those who said yes and no and a significant number said they don't know. This was followed by the question why they thought their answer was right. Out of 84 respondents, 33 (39%) selected Yes to the question "Does the management plan include all the values of the property, 29 (35%) selected No, 17 (20%) selected 'Don't know', while five (6%) did not answer. From the local community category, out of 46 respondents, 20 (43%) selected No, 16 (35%) selected Yes, while eight (17%) said they did not know, and two (4%) did not answer.

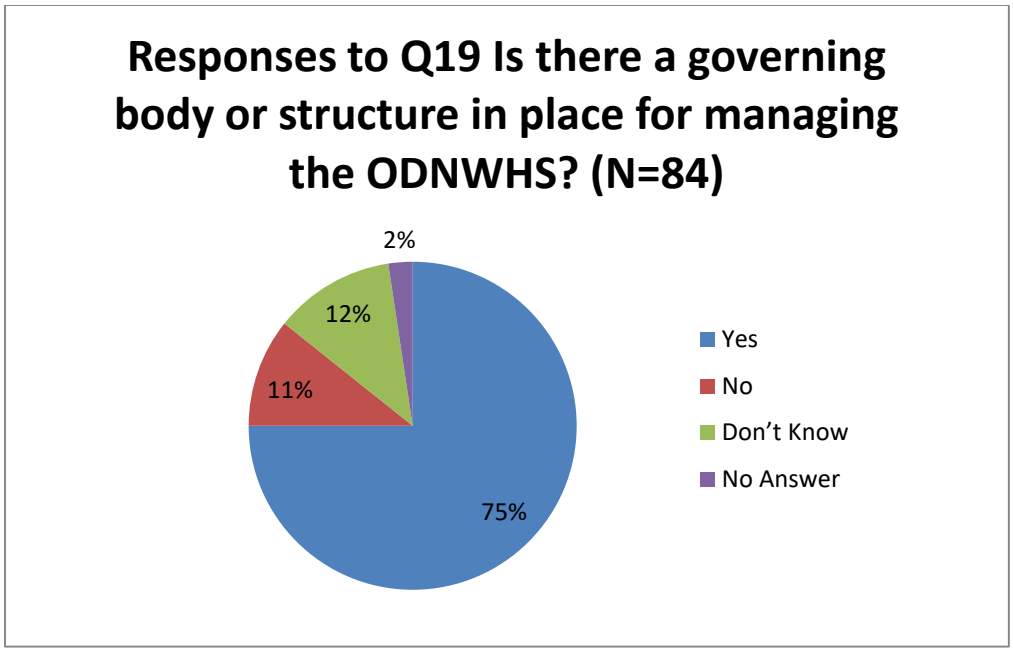
However, the local community respondents are of the view that the management plan does not include all the values of the property. Their responses differ from the consensus, that it does include all the values of the property. Also, there is a thin margin between those who said yes and no.

From the government category, out of the 27 respondents 11 (41%) selected Yes, eight (29%) selected No, while seven (26%) said they did not know and one (4%) did not answer. Respondents from the

government category are of the view that the management plan includes all the values of the property. They therefore differ from the local community respondents and the consensus. Also, there is a thin margin between those who said yes and no. From the tourism sector category, out of 11 respondents, six (55%) selected Yes, one (9%) selected No, while two (18%) said they did not know, two (18%) did not answer. The tourism sector respondents were of the view that the management plan includes all the values of the property. They differed with the local community respondents and were in agreement with the view of the government category respondents.



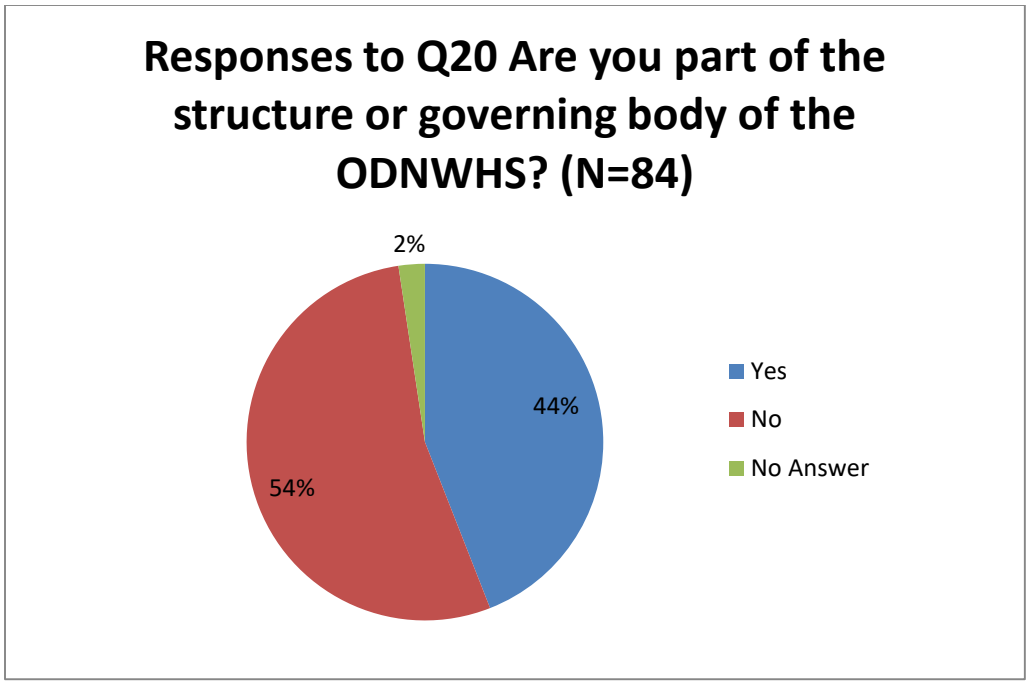
The questionnaire revealed that a governing body of structure is in place for managing the ODNWHS. Out of the 84 respondents, 63 (75%) selected yes for the question, "Is there a governing body or structure in place for managing the ODNWHS?", nine (11%) selected No, while 10 (12%) said they did not know and two (2%) did not answer.



The questionnaire revealed that most respondents are of the view that they are not part of the structure or governing body of the ODNWHS, except the government category respondents who selected yes, that they are part of the structure or governing body. The local community and the tourism sector category respondents selected No, indicating that they were not part of the structure.

Out of 84 respondents, 45 (54%) selected No to the question, "Are you part of the structure or governing body of the ODNWHS?", 37 (44%) selected Yes, while two (2%) did not answer. From the local community category, out of 46 respondents, 16 (35%) selected Yes, 29 (63%) selected No, while one (2%) did not answer.

From the government category, out of 27 respondents, 17 (63%) selected Yes, 9 (33%) selected No, while 1 (2%) did not answer. From the tourism sector category, out of 11 respondents, 7 (64%) selected No, 4 (36%) selected Yes.

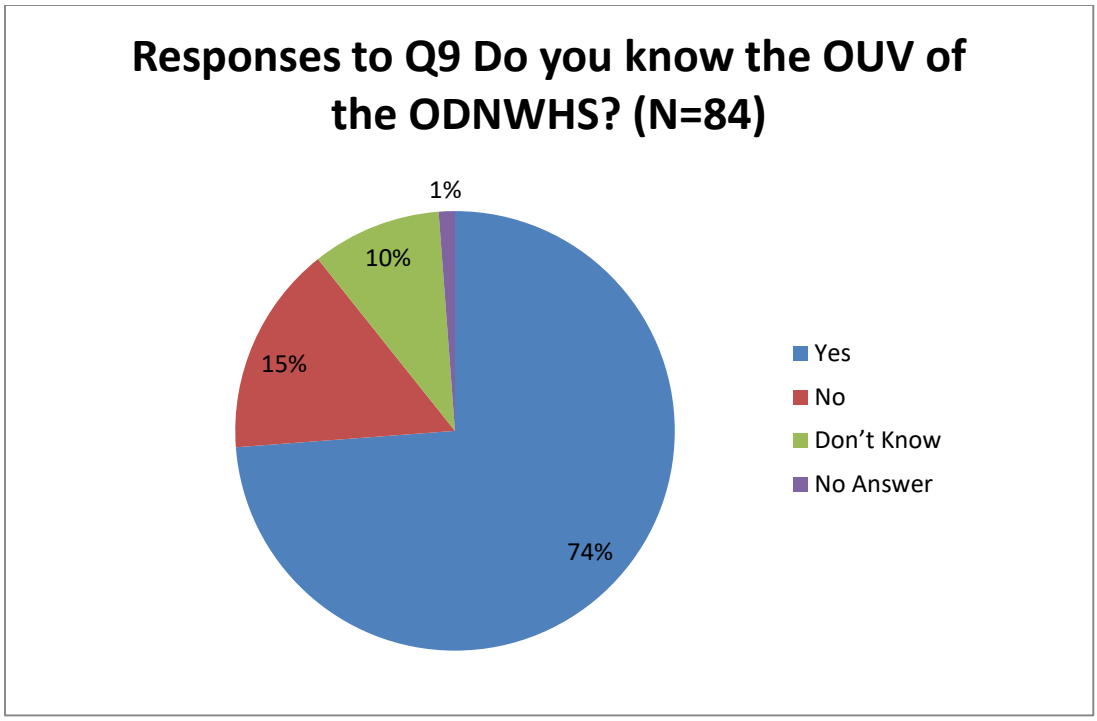


7.2.2.2 Local values associated with the site

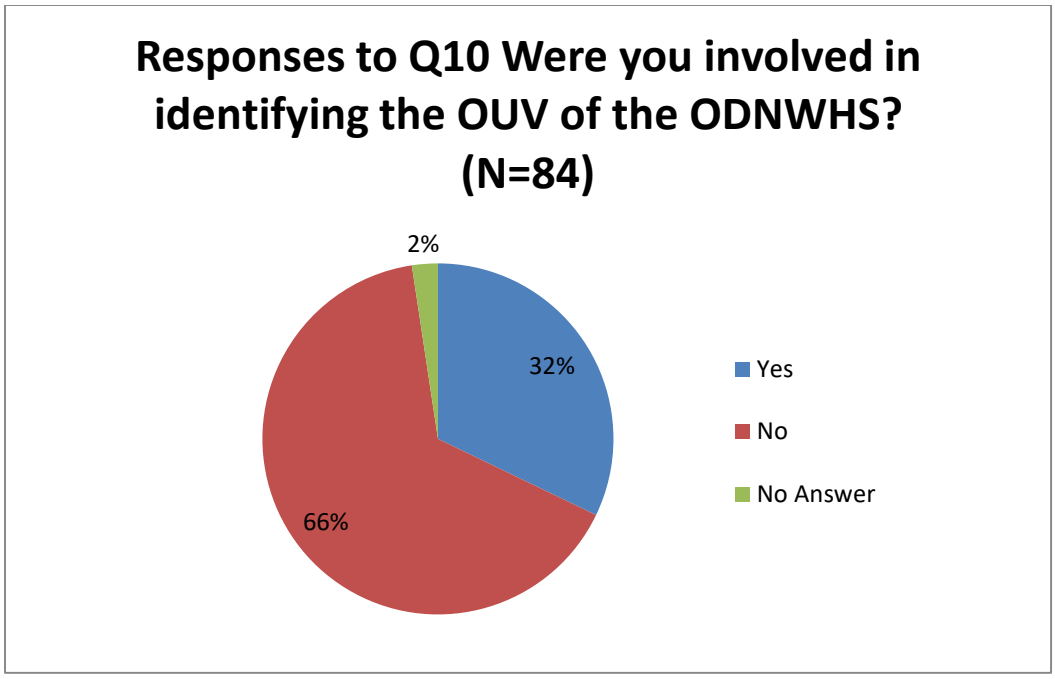
To understand the local values of the property as perceived by different stakeholders, respondents were asked if they know the outstanding universal values of the Okavango Delta NWHS (question), and if they were involved in identifying the OUV (question). They were further asked how the Okavango Delta NWHS is important to them (Question 10). This was meant to ascertain whether different stakeholders know the OUV and what values they attach to the property.

The questionnaire revealed that the respondents know the OUV of the ODNWHS. Out of 84 respondents, 62 (74%) selected yes to the question "Do you know the OUV of the ODNWHS? 13 (15%) selected No, while eight (10%) selected Don't know, and one (1%) did not answer.

From the local community category, out of 46 respondents, 29 (63%) selected Yes, 10 (22%) selected No, 7 (15%) selected Don't know. From the government category, out of 27 respondents, 26 (96%) selected Yes, while one (4%) selected No. From the tourism sector category, out of 11 respondents, seven (64%) selected Yes, three (27%) selected No, while one (9%) selected don't know.

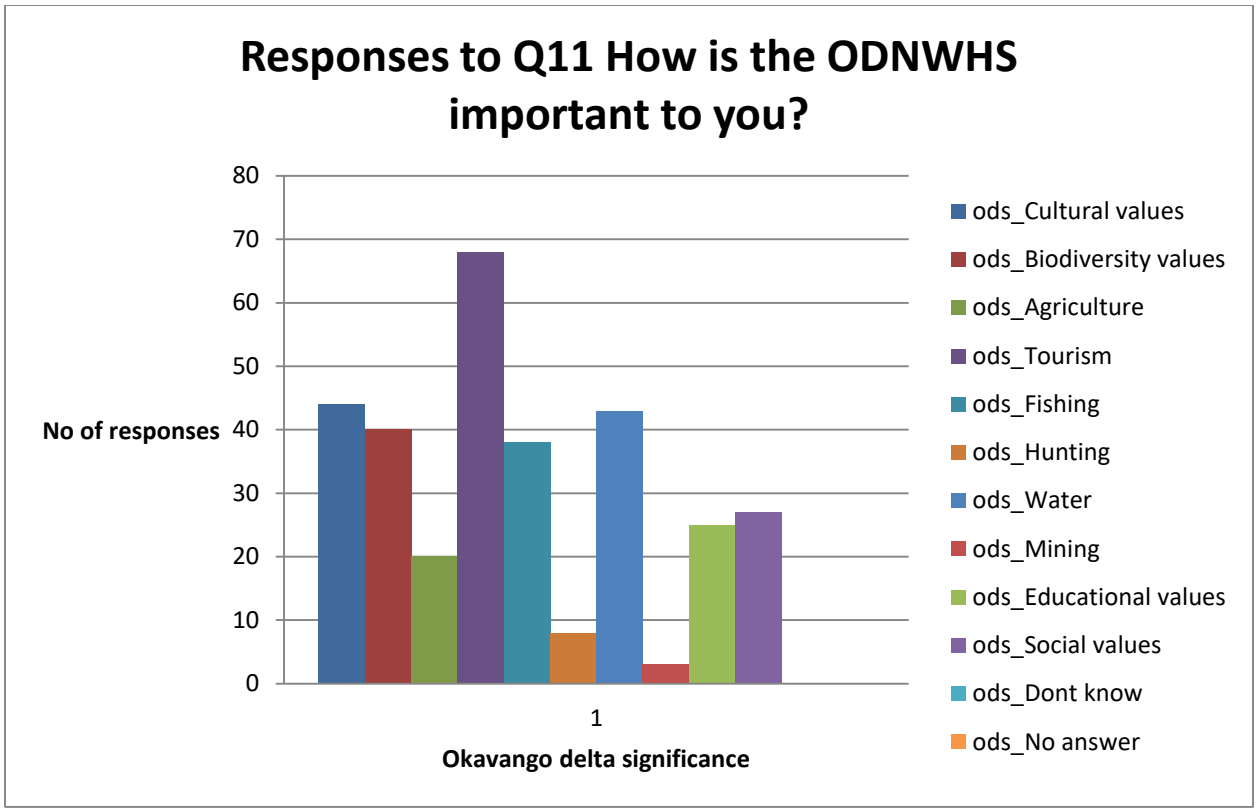


The questionnaire revealed that respondents were not involved in identifying the OUV of the property even though they agree that they know OUV. Out of 84 respondents, 55 (65%) selected No for the question "Were you involved in identifying the OUV of the ODNWHS?". 27 (32%) selected Yes, while two (2%) did not answer. Out of 46 respondents from the local community category, 36 (78%) selected No, while 10 (22%) selected Yes. Out of 27 respondents from the government category, 13 (48%) selected No, 12 (45%) selected Yes, while two (7%) did not answer. Out of 11 respondents from the tourism sector category, seven (64%) selected No, while four (36%) selected Yes.



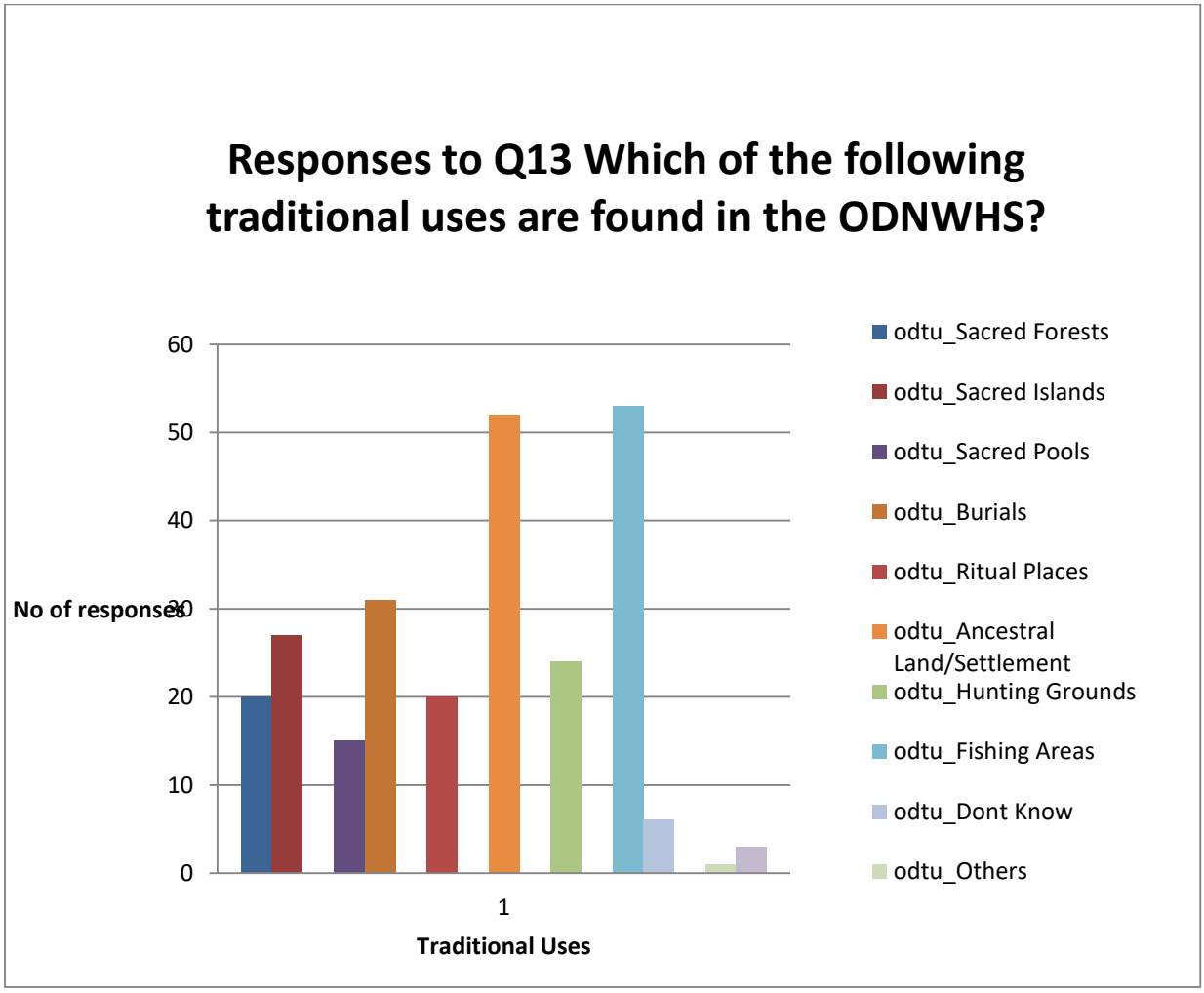
It was established from the questionnaires that respondents view economic values as important to them with tourism (68), water (43) and fishing () topping the list of economic values selected by the respondents, then followed by cultural values (44), biodiversity values (40). However, the government sector category rate biodiversity values more important to them than the cultural values and they al.so consider educational and social values as some of the important values of the Okavango Delta.

From the local community category, the respondents' selected economic values with tourism (38), water (23) fishing (21) at the top, then followed by cultural values (20) and biodiversity values (15). From the government sector category, the respondents selected economic values, with tourism (21), fishing (13), water (12) at the top, then followed by biodiversity values (19), cultural values (16), educational values (13) and social values (12). The respondents from the tourism sector selected economic values, with tourism (10), water (6), fishing (4) at the top, then followed by cultural values (8) and biodiversity values (6).

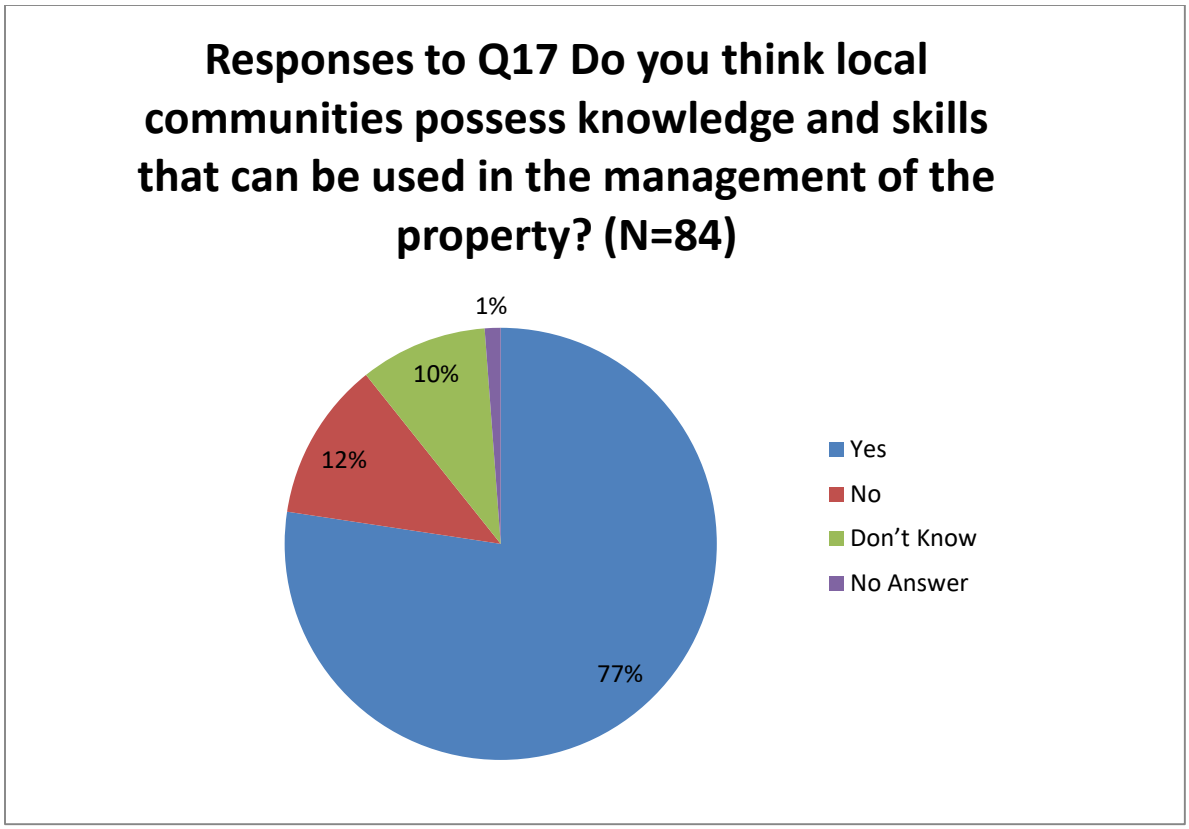


To establish whether there are any traditional knowledge or practices used by local communities in the utilisation and management of the property and its resources, the respondents were asked as to which traditional uses are found in the ODNWHS, (Question13), If they thought local communities possess knowledge and skills that can be used in the management of the property (Question 17). Lastly, they were asked to state what knowledge they thought local communities possess that can be useful in the management of the ODNWHS (Question 18).

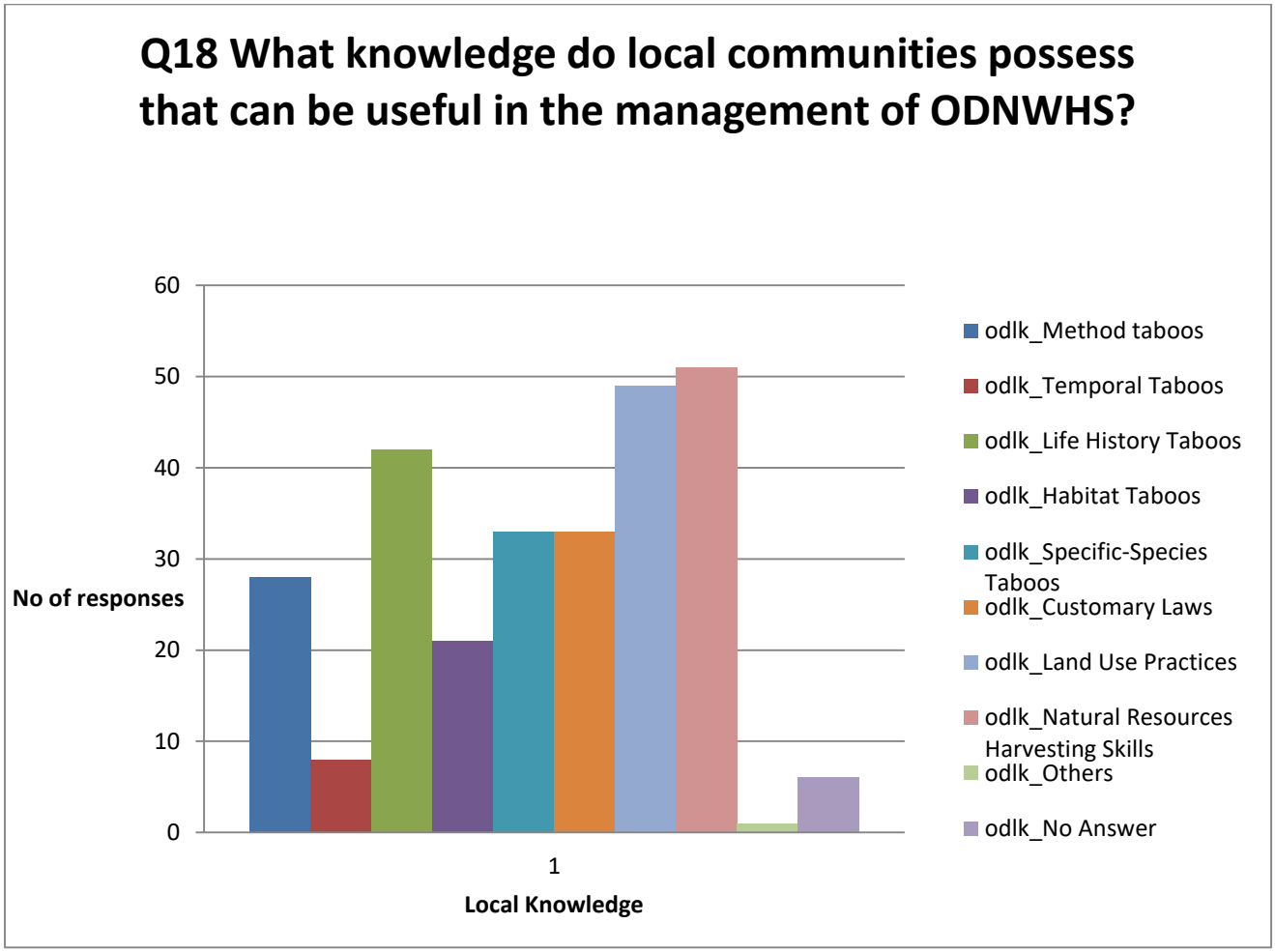
The questionnaire revealed that there are traditional uses or areas of traditional/cultural importance associated with local communities in the Okavango Delta. Respondents identified Ancestral land/settlements, fishing areas, burials and sacred Islands as the traditional uses or areas of traditional/cultural importance found in the ODNWHS. Respondents selected Ancestral land/settlements (52), Fishing areas (53), Burials (31), Sacred Islands (27). The respondents from the community category selected Ancestral land/settlement (31), Fishing areas (27), Burials (21), and Sacred Islands (14). From the government category, the respondents selected Fishing areas (19), Ancestral land/settlements (15), Sacred Islands (10), Burials (9), and Hunting grounds (9). From the tourism sector category, the respondents selected Fishing areas (6), Ancestral land/settlements (5), Hunting grounds (4), and Sacred Islands (3).



The questionnaire revealed that respondents are of the view that local communities still possess knowledge and skills that can be used in the management of the property. Out of 84 respondents, 65 (77%) selected Yes, 10 (12%) selected No, while eight (10%) said they did not know and one (1%) did not answer. Out of 46 respondents from the local community category, 32 (70%) selected Yes, six (13%) selected No, while seven (15%) said they did not know, and one (2%) did not answer. Out of 27 respondents from the government category, 25 (92%) selected Yes, one (4%) selected No, while one (4%) said they did not know. Out of 11 respondents from the tourism sector category, eight (73%) selected Yes, while three (27%) selected No.



The questionnaire revealed the kind of knowledge that local communities still possess that can be useful in the management of the ODNWHS as seen by the respondents. The respondents are of the view that there is still knowledge that can be tapped from local communities in the form of natural resources harvesting skills, land use practices and life history taboos. Other knowledge includes customary laws, specific species taboos, and method taboos, but these were not selected in large numbers but still make a significant part of the responses. The respondents selected natural resources harvesting skills (51), land use practices (49), life history taboos (42), customary laws (33), specific species taboos (33) and method taboos (28). From the local community category, the respondents selected natural resources harvesting skills (24), life history taboos (24), land use practices (23), method taboos (19), specific species taboos (17), and customary laws (14). From the government sector category, the respondents selected natural resources harvesting skills (21), land use practices (20), life history taboos (17), customary laws (15), specific species taboos (13), and habitat taboos (11). From the tourism sector category, the respondents selected natural resources harvesting skills (6), land use practices (5), customary laws (4), specific species taboos (3), and habitat taboos (2). Government and tourism sector category respondents are also of the view that local communities possess knowledge regarding habitat taboos.



7.2.3 Interviews

As indicated earlier in the chapter, to understand local values associated with the site, structured interviews were conducted with some of the elders in the village who were referred to me as having traditional knowledge that can be useful for the research. Individual interviews were conducted with the elders while in some instances the interviews turned into conversations with the elders. For example, in Ngarange, the two male elders were interviewed together and women were also interviewed together. As such the interviewing method also took the form of focused group discussions (see Figure 7.1) to allow an in depth understanding of the values they attach to the heritage and to establish the traditional uses or areas of cultural importance to them.

Figure 7.1: Interview session in Ngarange (Source author, 2016)

7.2.3.1 Local values associated with the site

The interviews revealed that local communities have local values attached to the Okavango Delta especially in areas that they settled in. According to Letebele Sejarwa of Khwai Village, they used to reside in an area called Xuku, commonly referred to as Hippo Pool in Moremi Game Reserve before they were moved out when the game reserve was created. During the interviews, other members of the community and Sejwara indicated that they took the team taking the roving torch around the country to mark the countdown to marking Botswana's 50th Independence to their ancestral land in Moremi Game Reserve. As part of the activities marking the arrival of the torch, to the villages, the team also visited important cultural heritage sites in the villages they visited.

According to Xanieko Xae of Ngarange, the Okavango is important to them as they harvest resources such as fish and tswii (water lily). He also stated that they used to stay in the area, they have ancestral lands in the area such as N/xoaxom, commonly referred to as Red Cliff (see Figure 7.2 and 7.3). They used to do perform rainmaking rituals in the area on the banks of the Okavango River. The rainmakers were buried on an island next to N/oaxom known as Tco-yi. The island is regarded as a sacred place. N/oaxom is regarded as a sacred site known as a breeding place for pythons and water birds, Camine bee-eaters (Nomination Dossier, 2013). The area was visited by the Site Working Committee working on the

nomination of the Okavango Delta and it was also established that it is a breeding place for different bird species including the African Fish Eagle. Xanieko Xae and Kaore Xanoko explained that they made fishing nets from mokgotshe plant found in the delta. They made a rope and a loop the size of a fish. They also explained that they used segai (spear) for hunting. Furthermore, they explained that they did not hunt animals all the time, will only hunt once in a year and allow them to breed and only enough to eat. This is emphasised that they used natural resources sustainably.

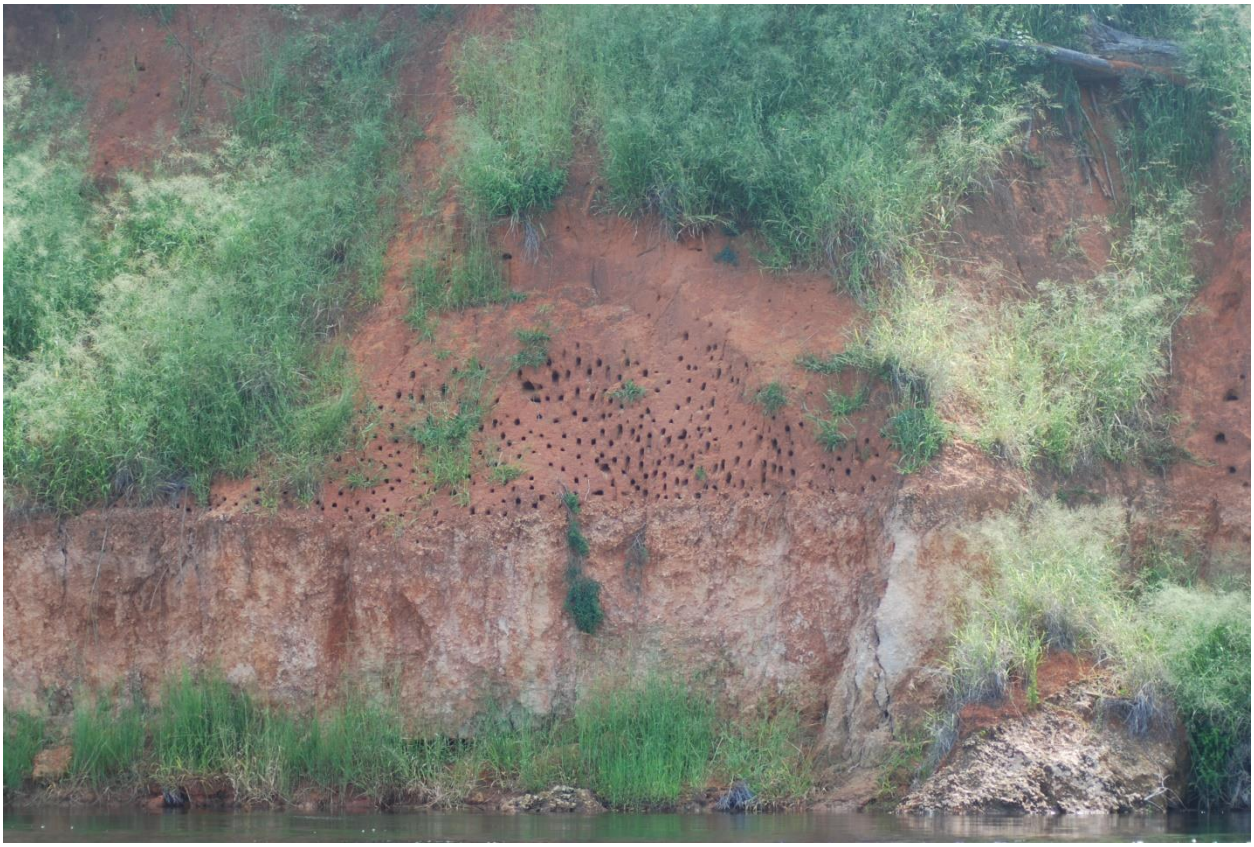


Figure 7.2: The site of Nx/oaxom (Red Cliff) (Source author, 2011)

Figure 7.3: Nx/oaxom (Red Cliff) along the Okavango River Panhandle (Source author, 2011)

They also mentioned a lot of ancestral lands along the Okavango Panhandle in their San language. They say that names of the villages along the Panhandle area are Sesarwa names corrupted by Batswana. For example, Kauxwi is a Sesarwa name meaning sekgwa sa dinare because the place is full of buffaloes. This is an indication that Basarwa occupied the areas along the Okavango Delta Panhandle long before other groups occupied the area.

According to Sejarwa, they still possess knowledge and skills that can be used in the management of the Okavango Delta in the form of method taboos, specific-species taboos. However, he argues that government does not believe that this still works. He stated that they did not eat any animal and that the lion is their totem. He also mentioned that in the past they used fire to control/manage vegetation which allowed for animals to be visible. Sejwara argued that since they could no longer do this, wildlife was no longer easily visible and this led the Department of Wildlife and National Parks to conclude that the wildlife populations had gone down. This is also attested to by some of the interviews from Ngarange, Mr Kaore Xakao and Mr Xanieko Xae of Ngarange (see Figure 7.4). The group interviews also discussed taboos. They explained that when the men went to the river to hunt, women and children did not do anything as

this would cause them bad luck and endanger the life. Children did not play in the house and women did not do anything until they were back. When asked as to whether they could use this knowledge and skills that they had in the management of the Okavango Delta, they indicated that since they did not have access to the river and the resources as they used to it was not possible.

Figure 7.4: Mr Xanieko Xae and Mr Kaore Xakao of Ngarange during interview (Source author, 2016)

7.2.4 Discussion

The management of heritage places especially protected landscapes of World Heritage status (natural sites) has been characterised by privileging the conservation of universal values over local values especially socio-cultural values associated with local communities. It has also focused on dividing heritage into natural and cultural. This has also meant that local communities are alienated from their heritage places. However, trends in conservation and protected areas management have set the stage for new approaches that engage local people in the stewardship of landscapes and embrace the interactions of people and nature (Brown & Mitchell, 2000). One of these growing trends in conservation and protected areas management lies in our growing understanding of the link between nature and culture: that healthy landscapes are shaped by human culture as well as the forces of nature, that rich biological diversity often coincides with cultural diversity, and that conservation cannot be undertaken without the involvement of those closest to the resource (Brown & Mitchell, 2000: 70). The argument in this thesis is the need to look at protected areas such as the Okavango Delta as layered landscapes with multiple values and multiple stakeholders rather than pristine natural sites which are devoid of human interactions.

This thesis has been above all an exploration of the characteristics of the current management system of the Okavango Delta and an investigation of the local values as perceived by different stakeholders especially local communities. These two objectives have been explored within the lens of concepts related to heritage management such as heritage, heritage values, heritage significance, value-based approaches, landscapes, and local communities. These have also been explored through a theoretical framework of multivocality and investigated through a specific methodology that combined desktop studies, questionnaires and interviews. They imply that the management of the Okavango Delta has not taken into consideration the nature of the Okavango Delta as a layered landscape that has been occupied by different groups over 100 000 years ago onwards. That the Okavango Delta has multiple values to different stakeholders and that its significance is manifested at local, national, regional, and international level.

The following sections discusses the major issues raised by this thesis in more detail.

Characteristics of the current management system of the Okavango Delta

This thesis has raised major issues in the management of World Heritage Natural sites such as the incorporation of local communities in the management of the heritage places. It has also raised the issue of the categorisation of heritage into cultural and natural and hence argues that local communities do not categorise heritage as such. Another important issue raised by this thesis is the need to treat natural sites as protected landscapes to allow for the recognition of all the values of the heritage place. Information gathered through desktop survey, questionnaires and interviews show that the current management system of the Okavango Delta is a formal management system that is led by government incorporating different stakeholders through the structures of governance at local, national, regional, and international level. It is characterised by multiple stakeholders, a variety of policy, planning, and management documents, strategies and legislation pertaining to the resources of the Okavango Delta and governance structures at different levels. The different stakeholders include government departments at both central and local government, traditional leaders, political leaders, local communities, non-governmental organisations, community-based organisations, academia, private sector (tourism operators), and international conservation agencies.

It has been established through questionnaire survey that the management is a combination of both traditional and modern management systems, and that it is effective and include all the values of the site. However, local communities differ with government respondents that all the values of the site are included in the management plan. This disparity attest to the argument brought by de la Torre (2005) that planners and managers almost always deal with sites whose primary significance has been established earlier, usually at the time of designation. The problem that arises is that official designations address the values that makes the site significant at the national or international level, but in almost all instances exclude other important values held by legitimate stakeholders (de la Torre, 2005: 5). The designation of values was the privilege of experts without the involvement of local communities and other stakeholders. However, we should not lose sight of the challenges of managing multiple values in a participatory process (de la Torre, 2005). In practice, involving different groups in the planning and management process creates new challenges to identify legitimate spokespersons, choose appropriate elicitation methods, and consider all the values of a place (de la Torre,2005:7). Nevertheless, this does not stop those in charge of heritage places to involve stakeholders in the elicitation of values and in their conservation and management. As shown in Chapter 5, the official designation of the Okavango Delta was based on the

natural values that make the site significant at national and international level. Also, the elicitation of values of heritage places were guided by categorisation of heritage places as natural and cultural hence did not use a multidisciplinary approach. This thesis therefore argues that heritage places such as the Okavango Delta should be viewed as layered landscapes with multiple values. It should be noted that recently groups who value heritage sites for different reasons have come forth and demanded to be involved and new values often surface because of the involvement of these groups (de la Torre, 2005: 7). These new stakeholder groups can range from communities living close by, to groups with traditional ties or interests in particular aspects of the site (de la Torre, 2005: 7). In the case of the Okavango Delta it's not only the so called "indigenous peoples" and local communities, but also other experts especially not coming from the natural sciences, but the cultural heritage discipline such as archaeologists, anthropologists and historians. For example, the inscription of the Okavango Delta was also followed by a proposal from the //Anikhwe Community to UNESCO World Heritage Centre, proposing the following: re-nomination of the Okavango Delta as a mixed property to protect the cultural heritage of the indigenous peoples; document and register the intangible cultural heritage of the San found within the World Heritage Property and to establish an advisory mechanism made up of indigenous peoples, state departments, tour operators/private sector, civil society and other sectors who would also inform the drafting of an over-arching Action Plan of the World Heritage property (Leburu, 2015).

In addition, as discussed under chapter 3 on literature review, the World Heritage Convention through its Operational Guidelines emphasise the need to consider the interaction of man and his environment and the incorporation of local communities in the management of their heritage (Sullivan,2004). As such, in its evaluation of the site, IUCN requested supplementary information on some of the issues regarding governance and management including the cultural heritage of indigenous peoples and local communities and the World Heritage Committee later in its inscription of the site identified the same issues, and made recommendations to the state party to provide a state of conservation report which should include progress made on the issues raised.

Questionnaire survey also revealed that local communities are of the view that they are not part of the governing body or structure used for managing the Okavango Delta. This speaks to the issue of the alienation of local communities from the management of their heritage.

This is a contradiction as desktop surveys reveal that local communities are involved through the CBNRM program through different structures at local level such as community-based organisations and are represented in the Okavango Delta Wetlands Management Committee (OWMC) in chapter 6 on

governance framework and stakeholders of the Okavango Delta. This therefore calls for further investigation in understanding the management system of the Okavango Delta.

An interesting result of this study is the view by the respondents from questionnaire survey that the management system is a combination of both modern and traditional management system. This study has not been able to establish exactly what this management system entails. Desktop survey has shown that the management system uses the CBNRM approach to engage local communities in managing concession areas, but as CBNRM scholars argue, this approach has not enlisted the use of local knowledge and traditional conservation strategies in the management of those concession areas (Thakadu, 1997; Mazwamudze, 2005). As such it will be of great interest for future research to investigate this issue further so as to understand the management system of the Okavango Delta. A deeper understanding of the management system in place provide room for improvement in the way the site is management.

Heritage resources, values, significance of the Okavango Delta

The establishment of local values associated with local communities such as cultural values, archaeological values, historical values, symbolic and identity values, and social values have serious implications for the current management system of the site. While government respondents indicate that all the values of the site are included in the management plan, the study of the ODMP 2008, does not reveal this. It must be noted that the site is currently categorised as a natural site and mostly experts associated with its management have been from the areas of natural sciences such as environmental management, ecology, wildlife management, hydrology, biology etc. Just like most protected areas the management of the Okavango Delta is based on protecting and conserving the natural resources of the wetland area. The ODMP which is currently the main document used for guiding the management of the site, emphasises the importance of the natural values of the wetland system. It stipulates how these should be managed for the benefit of local, national and international stakeholders (ODMP, 2008). The ODMP was developed to meet the obligations of the Ramsar convention in managing the ODRS and later adopted for the management of the Okavango Delta World Heritage site.

The recent inscription of the OD as a World Heritage site is based on its natural values for its outstanding natural beauty or aesthetic value, its outstanding complex and interdependent climatic, geo-morphological, hydrological and biological processes, and as a significant and important habitat of biological diversity including those endangered and important for science. It is important to note that throughout these documents, the ODMP and Nomination dossier; there is no mention of the local values

especially the cultural heritage of the local communities associated with the area. This is attributed to the fact that the designation of the values of the Okavango Delta which is natural values is based on the national (National Park and Wildlife Management Areas) and international (Ramsar & World Heritage site) significance as discussed in the section above.

In addition, the nomination dossier provides a brief description on the history of settlement in the area under history and development, describing the groups that settled in the area and their livelihood activities (Nomination dossier, 2013). Furthermore, it states that competition and conflicts among various natural resource users in the Okavango are generally high (Nomination dossier, 2013:57). It attributes this to the fact that an area like the Okavango Delta contains numerous biotic and abiotic elements all of which have potential to be valued by one or more different groups (Nomination dossier, 2013:57). It categorises these groups as: local/indigenous peoples or traditional communities who see the Okavango as their patrimony and their livelihoods are mostly dependent on the utilisation of resources found in the delta; pastoralists and agriculturalists who want control of the area for settlement, grazing and arable agriculture; government of Botswana and the private sector interest groups see the areas wildlife resources as a potential source of wealth generation through tourism development, and conservationists who regard the Okavango highly on account of its biodiversity and aesthetic value (Nomination dossier, 2013:57). It therefore further state that each of these social groups thus constructs a different image of the Okavango Delta, and a different set of natural resources, depending on how they perceive and value the different elements of the natural system (Nomination dossier, 2013:57).

However, literature on the Okavango Delta has shown that the Okavango Delta is a layered landscape that has been settled by different groups such as hunter-gatherers (San) and agro-pastoralists of Bantu origin such as Bayei, Hambukushu, Batawana, and Herero. Each of these groups attached significance to the different resources of the area and settled in areas suitable for their exploitation. Furthermore, desktop surveys have revealed significant information on the cultural resources of the Okavango Delta such as cultural landscapes, archaeological sites, anthropological sites and monuments at local and regional level. In addition, it has shown that the Okavango Delta is a layered landscape with multiple values. Interviews revealed that local communities have local values attached to the Okavango Delta such as ancestral lands such as N/oaxom where they performed rainmaking rituals, burial grounds where rainmakers were buried such as Tco-yi and these are regarded as sacred places.

This study therefore seeks to influence the development of a management system for the ODNWHS that take into consideration all the values of the property, both universal and local, and a management structure that accommodates the different stakeholders in the management of the property and most importantly one that infuses science and traditional knowledge and not privilege experts over non-experts. This is done through a multivocality framework as it caters for multiple voices and multiple stakeholders in the management of heritage sites. Multivocality offers a platform for the inclusion of the voices of marginalised groups in decision making, in the case of the Okavango Delta, those of the San, Bayei, and Hambukushu. It also offers a platform to challenge dominant practices that alienates local communities from their heritage. It advocates the full involvement of stakeholders at the beginning and in the whole process of making decisions on management of heritage sites and implementation of those decisions.

7.3 Conclusion

The results of the study of the characteristics of the current management system of the Okavango Delta and its local values has established that the management of the Okavango Delta does not include the conservation of all the resources and values of the Okavango Delta. Instead it privileges natural values and economic values over cultural values which are of local, national, and regional significance. These are not included in the ODMP (2008), despite the claim by government respondents who are of the view that the management plan includes all the values of the site. It has been shown that the Okavango Delta is a layered landscape that has been continuously settled by hunter-gatherer and agro-pastoralists and as such it is rich with cultural resources of archaeological, historical, symbolic and identity value. Hence, the tittle of this thesis Two in one: Explaining the Management of the Okavango Delta Natural World Heritage site, Botswana explains a system of management that acknowledges local and universal values, nature and culture, and traditional and modern strategies of heritage management.

The researcher has argued that the management system, is biased towards the conservation and management of universal values (natural values), over local values. Her argument is that although local communities have been involved in the management of the Okavango Delta through the CBNRM programme, the system has prioritised the natural values, economic values, over cultural values associated with local communities. It has instead portrayed the Okavango Delta as a pristine natural area and tourist destination of national, regional, and international significance. This is because natural resources management approaches in Africa, in particular Botswana, are more often addressed within a

narrow approach that isolates cultural and heritage resources as well as cultural landscapes (Keitumetse, 2009:224). The 'environment' is thus often perceived as comprising exclusively 'the natural' or biophysical components without the significance of socio-cultural elements (Keitumetse, 2009:224). Furthermore, this can be attributed to a lack of reconciliation of local conservation needs with the international conservation ideologies/conventions that originate elsewhere (Keitumetse, 2009). Thus, conservation of protected areas in Africa, in particular in Botswana should embrace new trends in protected areas management which seek to understand the link between nature and culture, and see heritage places as landscapes shaped by human cultures as well as forces of nature than isolated monuments.

7.4 Recommendations

A lot has changed in regard to the Okavango Delta stakeholders, their interests and expectations, emerging issues and the values attached to the property and its significance as seen recently with its inscription as a World Heritage site. This research conducted within the framework of multivocality has shown that there is need for a systematically coordinated management approach that will take into consideration all these new developments, the multiple nature of the site, the opinions and views of multiple voices and multiple stakeholders regarding the management of the site.

However, this study is limited in that it focused on two local communities found in the Okavango Delta, the Bugakhwe of Khwai and the //Anikhwe of Ngarange. It was also limited by time in providing a detailed study of the two groups and soliciting views of the different stakeholders of the Okavango Delta regarding its management. The Okavango Delta is a vast area with a history of settlement that spans 100 000 years ago onwards as evidenced by archaeology. The area is therefore rich with diversity of cultural resources associated with the different groups found in the area who attach value to them. Based on this, the researcher recommend that future research should focus on understanding the local values of the local communities associated with the Okavango Delta and those of other stakeholders so as to inform its management. Research should also focus on further understanding the management system of this layered landscape with the view of improving its management. Nevertheless, this study though limited has contributed to the understanding of the resources, values, significance and management system of the Okavango Delta. This study has shown that the management system in place does not adequately incorporate all stakeholders especially local communities, and it does not consider all the values of the site.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Site Register Ngamiland and Chobe, National Museum (Source, National Museum & Monuments)

Site Name	Map Code	Location	Type	Latitude	Longitude
	01-A1				
Koanaka 1	01-A1-1		Fossil		
Koanaka 2	01-A1-2		ESA		
	01-A2				
Gcwihaba North Entrance	01-A2-1		LSA	20°02'83"	021°31'56.5"
Gcwihaba South Entrance	01-A2-2		LSA, fossils	20°01'23.5"	021°21'06.7"
Sehitwa N	02-A2-1	555/621	Late Iron Age	20°14'12"	22°29'16"
	02-B4				
West Bank	02-B4-1	501/045		20 21 20	22 57 08
Kunyere River	02-B4-2	497/047			
Fishbone Site	02-B4-3	489/043	LSA/Iron Age	20 21 40	22 56 45
Toteng	02-B4-4	481/048	LSA	20 21 50	22 59 50
Toteng 1	02-B4-5	472/038	Bambata,Khoi,LSA	20 21 58.3	22 57 22.0
Toteng 2	02-B4-6	463/038	Khoi,LSA	20 21 59.2	22 57 27.2
Toteng 3	02-B4-7	469/038	Bambata,Khoi,LSA	20 21 46.7	22 57 27.2
Toteng 4	02-B4-8	474/039	MSA,LSA,IA		
Toteng 5	02-B4-9	474/042	Late Stone Age		

Toteng 6	02-B4-10	476/045	MSA/LSA		
Toteng West 1	02-B4-11	458/039	Iron Age		
Toteng West 2	02-B4-12	457/038	Middle Stone Age		
Toteng West 3	02-B4-13	455/034	LSA/MSA		
Toteng West 4	02-B4-14	452/032	IA/MSA		
Toteng West 5	02-B4-15	438/020	MSA/IA		
Mogapelwa 1	02-B4-16		MSA/LSA/IA	20°25'7"	22°54'8"
Mogapelwa 2	02-B4-17		MSA/LSA	20 25 13.5	22 55 03.6
Mogapelwa 3	02-B4-18				
Mogapelwa 4	02-B4-19		LSA	20 23 54.4	22 55 54.5
Mogapelwa 5	02-B4-20		LSA	20 23 55.2	22 55 01.7
Toteng ridge 1	02-B4-21		LSA	20 22 47.3	
Toteng ridge 2	02-B4-22		LSA		
Toteng ridge 3	02-B4-23		LSA		
Toteng ridge 4	02-B4-24		LSA		
Toteng ridge 5	02-B4-25		LSA		
Toteng ridge 6	02-B4-26		LSA		
Mogapelwa 2	02-B4-17		MSA/LSA		
	02-C4				
Mathabologa	02-C4-1		Middle Stone Age		
	02-D1				
Botlhatlogong	02-D1-1	822/269	MSA/LSA		

Botlhatlogong W	02-D1-2	804/271	MSA/LSA		
Dithutwane E	02-D1-3	792/269	Middle Stone Age		
Dithutwane West 1	02-D1-4	779/259	MSA/LSA		
Dithutwane West 2	02-D1-5	777/258	MSA/LSA		
Dithutwane	02-D1-6	758/253	Late Stone Age		
Bodibeng 1	02-D1-7		MSA/LSA		
Bodibeng 2	02-D1-8		ESA/MSA/LSA		
Semolo	02-D1-9		MSA/LSA		
Bodibeng 3	02-D1-10		MSA/LSA/ESAH		
	02-D3				
Shulabompe Hill	02-D3-1		Late Stone Age	20°50' S	22° 38'
	03-A1				
Maun Reservoir (Haka)	03-A1-1				
Maun Reservoir	03-A1-2				
Nhabe River	03-A1-3				
Maun Reservoir	03-A1-4				
	03-A2				
Drotsky's Cabins 1	03-A2-1	487/820	Stone Age	20 02 45	23 22 45

Komana 1	03-A2-2		Middle Stone Age	20 12	23 15 25
Komana 2	03-A2-3	362/668	Iron Age		
Drotsky's Cabins 2	03-A2-4	378/683	MSA/LSA/IA		
Kgantsang 1	03-A2-5	384/686	Middle Stone Age		
Kgantsang 2	03-A2-6	398/707	ESA/MSA		
Kgantsang 3	03-A2-7	405/704	ESA/MSA/LSA/IA		
Kgantsang 4	03-A2-8	409/717	ESA/MSA/IA		
Kgantsang 5	03-A2-9	440/725	Middle Stone Age		
Dikgatlhong 1	03-A2-10	576/730	Middle Stone Age		
Boteti River 1	03-A2-11	548/727	MSA/LSA		
Boteti River 2	03-A2-12	556/735	Middle Stone Age		
Boteti River 3	03-A2-13	738/567	ESA/LSA		
Boteti River 4	03-A2-14	585/752	Late Stone Age		
Dikgatlhong 2	03-A2-15	482/725	MSA/LSA/H		
Thamalakane River 1	03-A2-16	477/733	ESA/MSA/LSA/H		
Thamalakane River 2	03-A2-17	470/740	ESA/MSA		
Thamalakane River 3	03-A2-18	461/750	ESA/MSA/LSA/IA		
Ntabi	03-A2-19	486/826	Iron Age		
Tsanakuna	03-A2-20	445/766	Historic		

Drotsky (Maun)	03-A2-21	385/685	Middle Stone Age		
Kgantsang 6	03-A2-22	455/723	ESA/MSA/LSA		
Kgantsang 7	03-A2-23	462/718	ESA/MSA/LSA		
Hooper's Place	03-A2-24	528/841	Middle Stone Age		
Nata Road	03-A2-25	553/843	Middle Stone Age		
Thamalakane River 4	03-A2-26	490/815	Late Stone Age		
	03-A3				
Xoboga Nhabe River	03-A3-1	097/507	MSA/IA		
Mokgalo 1	03-A3-2	217/525	LSA/IA		
Mokgalo 2	03-A3-3	248/542	Middle Stone Age		
Haka 1	03-A3-4	261/550	Middle Stone Age		
Haka 2	03-A3-5	264/555	Middle Stone Age		
Haka 3	03-A3-6	265/563	ESA/MSA/LSA		
Haka 4	03-A3-7	267/566	Khoi		
Haka 5	03-A3-8	284/580	Middle Stone Age		
Haka 6	03-A3-9	291/579	ESA/MSA		
	03-B1				
Samedupi Drift	03-B1-1	616/740	ESA/MSA	20°08'09"	23°30'17"
Tsanoga Drift	03-B1-2	818/763	ESA/MSA/LSA/LIA	20°11'26"	23°41'40"
Mawana Village 1	03-B1-3	727/734	MSA/LSA	20°07'20"	23°36'35"

Mawana Village 2	03-B1-4	688/755	MSA/LSA	20°06'08"	23°34'20"
	03-B2				
Chanoga	03-B2-1	960/718	ESA/MSA	20°07'56"	23°55'00"
	03-B4				
Makalamabedi	03-B4-1	981/578	Middle Stone Age	20°15'11"	23°51'09"
	03-C1				
Kwebe Sehube	03-C1-1				
Kwebe Central	03-C1-2				
Kwebe N	03-C1-3				
Kwebe	03-C1-4				
Kgwebe Hills 1	03-C1-5		Historical	20 60 23.0	023 07 916
Kgwebe Hills 2	03-C1-6		Historical	20 60 820	023 07 735
Kgwebe Hills 3	03-C1-7		Historical	20 61 506	023 07 436
Kgwebe Hills 4	03-C1-8		Historical	023 04 289	20 64 292
	04-A1				
Matsiara	04-A1-1	120/586	LSA/IA	20°15'00"	24°14'36"
Motopi Drift	04-A1-2	998/627	ESA/MSA	20°12'45"	24°08'34"
Motopi	04-A1-3	014/641	Middle Stone Age	20°12'01"	24°08'37"
Motopi E	04-A1-4	020/640	ESA	20°12'07"	24°08'50"
	04-A2				
Moreomaoto	04-A2-1	137/600	Iron Age	20°14'16"	24°15'33"

Moreomaoto N	04-A2-2	140/614	LSA/IA	20°13'32"	24°15'45"
	04-A4				
Nxwene E 1	04-A4-1	377/435	Iron Age	20°23'22"	24°29'08"
Nxwene E 2	04-A4-2	345/430	Iron Age	20°23'44"	24°27'28"
Nxwene W	04-A4-3	300/418	Iron Age	20°24'18"	24°24'40"
Madiabidile	04-A4-4	250/449	Iron Age	20°22'39"	24°21'48"
Madiabidile W	04-A4-5	218/480	LSA/IA	20°20'59"	24°20'16"
Matsiara S	04-A4-6	163/567	Iron Age	20°16'02"	24°17'07"
Matsiara	04-A4-7	160/582	LSA/IA	20°15'15"	24°16'53"
Ramotshara	04-A4-8	107/580	LSA/IA		
	04-B2				
Kudiakam Pan	04-B2-1		Middle Stone Age		
	04-B3				
Khumaga	04-B3-1	408/346	Late Stone Age	20°28'17"	24°30'52"
	81-D1				
Depression Cave	81-D1-1		MSA, LSA/RP	18° 35'	21°40'
Site 2	81-D1-2		LSA/RP		
Crab Shelter	81-D1-3		Late Stone Age		
Nqoma	81-D1-4		EIA		
Ntjo	81-D1-5				
Female shelter	81-D1-6		Late Stone Age		

Divuyu	81-D1-7		EIA		
Rhino Cave	81-D1-8		MSA, LSA, RP		
Nqoma Grooves	81-D1-9		LSA,IA		
	81-D2				
Tsodilo C	81-D2-1		LSA/IA		
Society	81-D2-2		Iron Age, RP		
Qonqosi	81-D2-3		Iron Age		
Otjiserandu	81-D2-4		Iron Age		
White Paintings Shelter	81-D2-5		MSA, LSA, RP		
Dancing Penis	81-D2-6		Rock Paintings, LSA		
Outpost	81-D2-7		LSA		
Upper Cave	81-D2-8		MSA		
Corner Cave	81-D2-9		MSA/LSA		
	91-C1				
Mahopa 1	91-C1-1		Late Stone Age		
!Gi	91-C1-2		MSA/LSA	S 19° 37 23.5	E 21° 00 31.7
Xubi	91-C1-3				
Mahopa 2	91-C1-4		LSA		
Kupi	91-C1-5		Historic		
	91-C2-				

Gcwihabadum	91-C2-1				
	91-C3				
Xai-Xai 1	91-C3-1		Late Stone Age	19°52'30"	21°5'
Xai-Xai 2	91-C3-2		Late Stone Age		
Xai-Xai 3	91-C3-3		Late Stone Age		
	93-A1				
Xugana	93-A1-1		LSA, EIA		
	93-C4				
Matlapaneng	93-C4-1		EIA	19°59'39"	23°25'56"
Lotshitshi	93-C4-2		Late Stone Age, EIA	19°57'02"	23°29'07"
Maun	93-C4-3		LIA	19°59'01"	23°26'23"

Appendix B: Okavango Delta Ramsar Site Values

Criteria against which the site was designated as a Ramsar Site in 1997	**Examples of values for which the Okavango Delta was designated as a Ramsar site in 1997**
Criterion 1: a wetland should be considered internationally important if it contains a representative, rare, or unique example of a natural or a near-natural wetland type found within the appropriate biogeographic region.	The Okavango Delta System Ramsar Site is a unique inland wetland providing a haven for many endangered species of flora and fauna. The Ramsar site values include; Its multiplicity of habitats between the extremes of perennial swamp and semi-arid scrub-land allows a substantial biodiversity among all life forms to compensate for the vagaries of a mainly dry, low rainfall, drought-prone and very variable climate. It is this juxtaposition of these contrasting landscapes and waterscapes, with their attendant biota in a wilderness setting which provides the appeal for tourism as well as the rationale for inclusion in the Ramsar list.
Criterion 2: a **wetland should be considered internationally important if it supports vulnerable, endangered, or critically endangered species or threatened ecological communities**.	The Okavango Delta wetland supports vulnerable, endangered, or critically endangered species or threatened ecological communities. The Ramsar values include;

	A total of 20 plant species occurring in the ODRS have been selected for Red List status as per IUCN Red Data List criteria. Of these 20, 7 are listed as THREATENED, i.e. at 'very high' to 'extremely' high risk of going extinct in the wild at local level in the Southern African Red Data Plant List. For example, *Zeuxine Africana* is considered CRITICALLY ENDANGERED, *Eulophia angolensis* and *Habenaria pasmithii* are thought to be ENDANGERED and *Acacia hebeclada susp. Chobiensis*, al., *drovanda vesiculosa*, *Eragrostis subglandulosa* and *Erlangea remifolia* qualify for VULNERABLE status. In addition, the following species are present: Ansellia Africana (CITES App.II), wild dog (*Lycaon pictus*. EN), Sitatunga (*Tragelaphus spekeii*. CITES App.III), elephant (*Loxodonta Africana*. VU). red lechwe (Kobus *leche*. CITES App. II). Hippopotamus, (*Hippopotamus amphibious*, VU). Lion (*Panthera leo*, VU), leopard (*Panthera pardus*, CITES. App. I), cheetah (*Acinonyx jubatus*, VU) and *Damaliscus lunatus*. CITES App. III). Some globally threatened water bird species resident in the Okavango delta include: The Wattled Crane (Grus *carunculatus*, VU) and the Slaty Egret *(Egretta vinaceigula*, VU), the endangered Lesser Krestel (*Falco naumanni)*, Concrake

	(*Crex crex*) and the Black-winged Pranticole (*Glareola nordmanni*). The permanent swamps or areas of perennial water provides habitat for three species of aquatic and or semi-aquatic large mammals al., l of which falls under the IUCN Red List; Hippopotamus *Hippopotamus amphibious* (VU), Sitatunga (Tragelaphus *spekii*) and Red lechwe (*Kobus leche*)
Criterion 3: A wetland should be considered internationally important if it supports populations of plant and/or animal species important for maintaining the biological diversity of a particular biogeographic region.	The Okavango Delta is located in the Zambezian Phycotoria which is one of 16 such areas in Africa defined as having more than 50% endemic plant species and more than 1000 such species in total. This area predominantly includes the Okavango and Zambezi river basins. The Ramsar site values include; The Okavango Delta and Kwando-Linyanti River systems sustains a wide variety of mammalian fauna with perhaps the exception of small mammals in the Okavango largely due to the shortage of certain niches that occurs as a result of seasonal flooding. Thirteen out of the 17 water bird species of the Zambezian biome that occur in Botswana have been recorded in this site. These include: The dickson's Kestrel (*Falco dickinsoni*), the coppery-tailed coucal

	(*Centropus cupreicaudus*),the Racket-tailed Roller (*Coracias spatulata*), the Bradfield's Hornbill (*Tockus bradfieldi*), the Black-lored Babbler (*Turdoides melanops*), the Angola Babbler (*Turdoides hartlaubii*),the Kurrichane Thrush (*Turdus libonyana*),the white-headed black chat (*Thamnolaea arnoti*), the Chirping Cisticola (*Cisticola pipiens*), the Sharp-tailed Glossy-Starling (*Lamprotonis acuticaudus*),the White-breasted Sunbird (*Nectarinia talatala*), and the Brown Firefinch (*Lagonisticta nitidula).* Four of the six species of the Kalahari-Highveld biome that occur in Botswana have been recorded in this site as well and these include: The Burchell's Sandgrouse (Pterocles *burchelli*), the Kalahari Scrub-robin (Cerchotricas *paena*), the Barred Wren Warbler (Calamonastes *fasciolata)* and the Burchell's Glossy-starling (*Lamprotornis australis*).
Criterion 4: A wetland should be considered internationally important if it supports plant and/or animal species at a critical stage in their life cycles, or provides refuge during adverse conditions.	Many terrestrial herbivores that require regular access to surface water inhabit the seasonally inundated areas whose extent is largely determined in the case of the Okavango Delta by magnitude of the annual flood from the Angolan

	highlands and local rainfall. The Ramsar site values include; The higher dryland masses found within the Okavango Delta and the riverfronts of the Linyanti and Kwando are important refuges particularly when flooding renders, the above areas inaccessible. Large herbivores that utilise these areas are the African Buffalo (*Syncerus caffer*), Plains Zebra (Equus *burchelli*), African Elephant (Loxodonta *Africana*), blue wildebeest (Connochaetes *taurinus*), Tsessebe (Damaliscus *lunatus*), Southern Reedbucks (*Redunca arundinum*), Bushbuck (Tragelaphus *scriptus*), Puku Antelope (Kobus *vardoni*), Impala (*Aepyceros melampus*), Waterbuck (*Kobus ellipsiprymnus*). Less water dependent herbivores that utilise surface water to varying degrees include the grey duiker (Sylvicrapa *grimmia*), the steenbok (*Raphicerus campestris*), the gemsbok (Oryx gazelle), the giraffe (*Giraffa Camelopardalis*), the greater kudu (Trageluphus *strepsiceros*), the sable antelope (Hippotragus *nigeri*), the roan antelope (Hippotragus *equines*), the ostrich (Struthio *camelus)*, the desert warthog (Phacochoerus *aethiopicus*) and the eland (Taurotragus *oryx*).

	Several of the above species including elephant, the zebra and wildebeest migrate on a seasonal basis between temporal wetlands that are scattered throughout Northern Botswana and the permanent wetland systems making this site an important refuge for these species during their migration cycle (BWP879RIS, 2006:6). Wattled crane, *Grus carunculatus* breeds in the Okavango (several hundred pairs). The delta also serves as a major breeding site for the Slaty Egret (Egretta *vinaceigula*) and other species of heron and storks. The Delta is the most important breeding site for the Slaty Egret which is a very restricted species: a breeding colony of hundreds has been reported there and there was a colony of 50 to 60 pairs mixed with Rufous-bellied Heron (*Ardeola rufiventris*) in reed beds north of Xaxaba on the Boro River during the early 1990s.
Criterion 5: A wetland should be considered internationally important if it regularly supports 20, 000 or more water birds.	The Okavango, Kwando and Linyanti wetlands systems also support a variety of water birds and terrestrial bird species. The Ramsar values include; More than 650 bird species have been identified in the Okavango Delta al., one despite the paucity of anatidae, which

	tends to occur in the few areas with soils richer in nutrients. According to Fishpool and Evans (2001) more than 20 000 birds occur at the site.
Criterion 6: A wetland should be considered internationally important if it regularly supports 1 % of the individuals in a population of one species or subspecies of water bird.	The Okavango site holds > 1 % of the biogeographic population of the following: The site is known to hold on a regular basis at least 1 % of the biogeographic population of the following bird species (see Table 3.6).

Appendix C: Okavango Delta World Heritage property values

Natural Criteria against which the property was inscribed on the World Heritage list in 2014	**Examples of Natural World Heritage values of the Okavango Delta for which the property was inscribed on the World Heritage list in 2014**
Natural Criterion (vii) contains superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty or aesthetic importance	The dynamic, intact and fully functional Okavango Delta ecosystem is a natural feature of outstanding aesthetic importance where several superlative natural phenomena occur. The World Heritage values include; The 'miraculous' annual transformation of the huge sandy, dry and brown depression by floods arriving in the winter season creating a vast oasis, a wet of deep crystal

	clear water surrounded by the parched, dusty, Kalahari Desert stretching to the horizon in all directions Large herds of African Elephant, Buffalo, Zebra and other large animals splashing, playing and drinking the clear waters of the Okavango Delta Colonies of colourful nesting birds in papyrus reed beds, or their frenzied feeding on newly hatched fingerlings, surrounded by a mass of blue flowering water lilies The beauty of the mosaic of different coloured aquatic plant communities, some that form extensive areas of swamps and interspersed by tall tree-covered palm islands with crystal clear expanses of cool water
Natural criterion (ix) be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, freshwater, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals	The Okavango Delta is an outstanding example of the complex, inter-relatedness, inter-dependence, and interplay of climatic, geo-morphological, hydrological and biological processes. al., l these processes in combination have resulted in the creation of this vast inland delta (wetland), its terrestrial and aquatic ecosystems, and its diverse complements of plant and animal life. The World Heritage values include;
Natural criterion (x) contains the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ	The Okavango Delta's diversity of sub-Saharan plants and animals is comparable with the species

conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science	diversity elsewhere on the continent. The World Heritage values include; The Okavango Delta sustains robust populations of some of the world's most endangered large mammals such as Cheetah, white and black Rhinoceros, Wild Dog and Lion, all adapted to living in this wetland system The natural habitats are diverse and include permanent and seasonal rivers and lagoons, permanent swamps with reeds and papyrus, seasonal and occasionally flooded grasslands, riparian forests and woodlands, dry woodlands and island communities. Each of these habitats has a distinctive species composition of plants and animals comprising all the major classes of aquatic organisms, reptiles, birds and mammals. The Okavango Delta is further recognised as an Important Bird Area, harbouring 24 species of globally threatened birds, including among others, 6 species of Vultures, the Southern Ground-Hornbill, Wattled Crane and Slaty-Egret.

Appendix D: Sample of Questionnaire used to collect data

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Khwai

QUESTIONNAIRE

OKAVANGO DELTA NATURAL WORLD HERITAGE SITE (ODNWHS)

My name is Gertrude Mamotse Matswiri. I am a postgraduate student based at University of Cape Town, South Africa. I am studying towards an Msc in Archaeology. I am carrying out a research project that explores the relationship between traditional and modern management systems using the Okavango Delta Natural World Heritage site (ODNWHS). I would like to interview you in relation to this study. This information will be used solely for academic purposes. I therefore request you to assist by answering the questions below.

INSTRUCTION: Please tick where applicable and fill in your answers in the spaces provided.

SECTION 1: STAKEHOLDER PROFILE

1. Name & Surname: Lebele Sejwara Voice 007
2. Gender:

Male	✓	Female	

3. Age: 1955

≤18	19-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	≥ 61 ✓

4. Level of Education:

Primary		Secondary		Tertiary		Other		None

5. How long have you stayed in or interacted with the ODNWHS? Khwai Since Birth

≤5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	31-35	≥36	

6. Occupation: Unemployed | Ipelegeng programme
7. Which category of stakeholder are you representing? *(Tick the applicable one)*

Stakeholder Category	Tick the applicable one
Academia	
Local Community	✓
Heritage institution/Organization	
Tourism sector	
Tourism institution	

Parastatal	
Central government department	
Local government institution	
NGO	
Regional	
International	
Other (specify)	

8. At what level do you operate as a stakeholder of ODNWHS?

Individual		local		District ✓		National		Regional		International	

Section 2: Significance of the Okavango Delta Natural World Heritage property

9. Do you know the outstanding universal value of the Okavango Delta Natural World Heritage property?

Yes		No	✓	Don't know	

10. Were you involved in identifying the outstanding universal value of the property?

Yes		No ✓

11. How is the Okavango Delta Natural World Heritage site important to you? *(Tick the applicable ones)*

	Tick the applicable ones
Cultural values	✓
Biodiversity values	✓
Economic value Agriculture	
Tourism	✓
Fishing	
Hunting	✓
Water	✓
Extractive industry (mining)	
Educational values	
Social values	✓
Don't know	

Section 3: Role of Stakeholders in the management of the Okavango Delta Natural World Heritage site

12. Which one of the following Stakeholders are involved in the management of the ODNWHS? *Tick the applicable ones*

Stakeholder Category	Tick the applicable one
Academia	
Local Community	✓
Heritage institution/Organization	
Tourism sector	✓
Tourism institution	
Parastatal	
Central government department	✓
Local government institution	✓
NGO	
Regional Stakeholders	
International Stakeholders	
Other (specify)	

13. Which of the following traditional uses are found in the Okavango Delta Natural World Heritage site? *Tick the applicable ones*

	Tick the applicable ones
Sacred Forests	
Sacred Islands	
Sacred Pools	
Burials	✓
Ritual Places	
Ancestral land/settlements	✓
Hunting grounds	
Fishing areas	
Don't Know	
Others (specify)	

Section 3: Management of the property

14. Which management system is used to manage the Okavango Delta World Heritage Natural site?

Modern		traditional	✓	Combination of modern & traditional		Don't know	

15. Is the system effective?

Yes	✓	No		Don't know	

16. Does the management plan include all the values of the property? OMP

Yes	✓	No		Don't know		but only mention the ppl.

17. Do you think local communities possess knowledge and skills that can be used in the management of the property?

Yes	✓	No		Don't know		but gart does not agree that this still work.

18. If yes, what knowledge do they possess that you think can be useful in the management of the Okavango Delta Natural World Heritage site? Tick the applicable ones

	Tick the applicable ones
Method taboos	✓
Temporal taboos	
Life history taboos	
Habitat taboos	
Specific-species taboos	✓
Customary laws	
Land use practices	
Natural resources harvesting skills	✓
Other (specify)	

totem – lion – did not eat any animal.

19. Is there a governing body or structure in place used for managing the Okavango Delta Natural World Heritage site?

Yes	✓	No		Don't know	

20. Are you part of the structure or governing body of the ODNWHS?

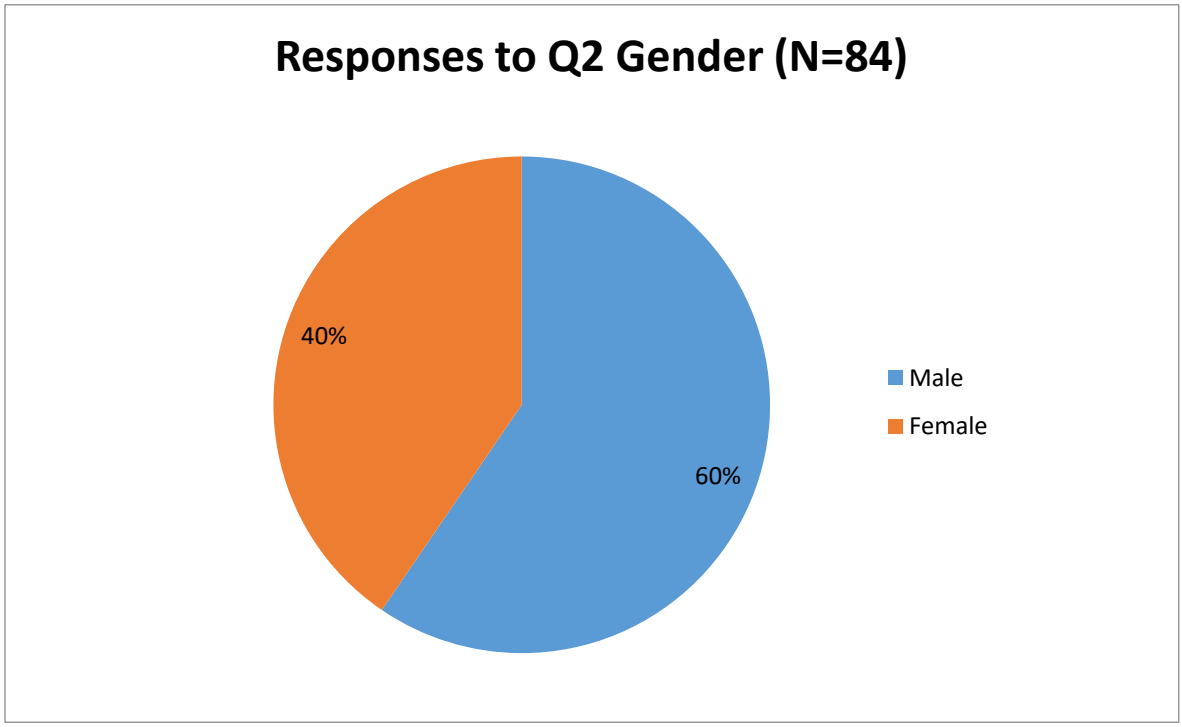
Yes		No	✓

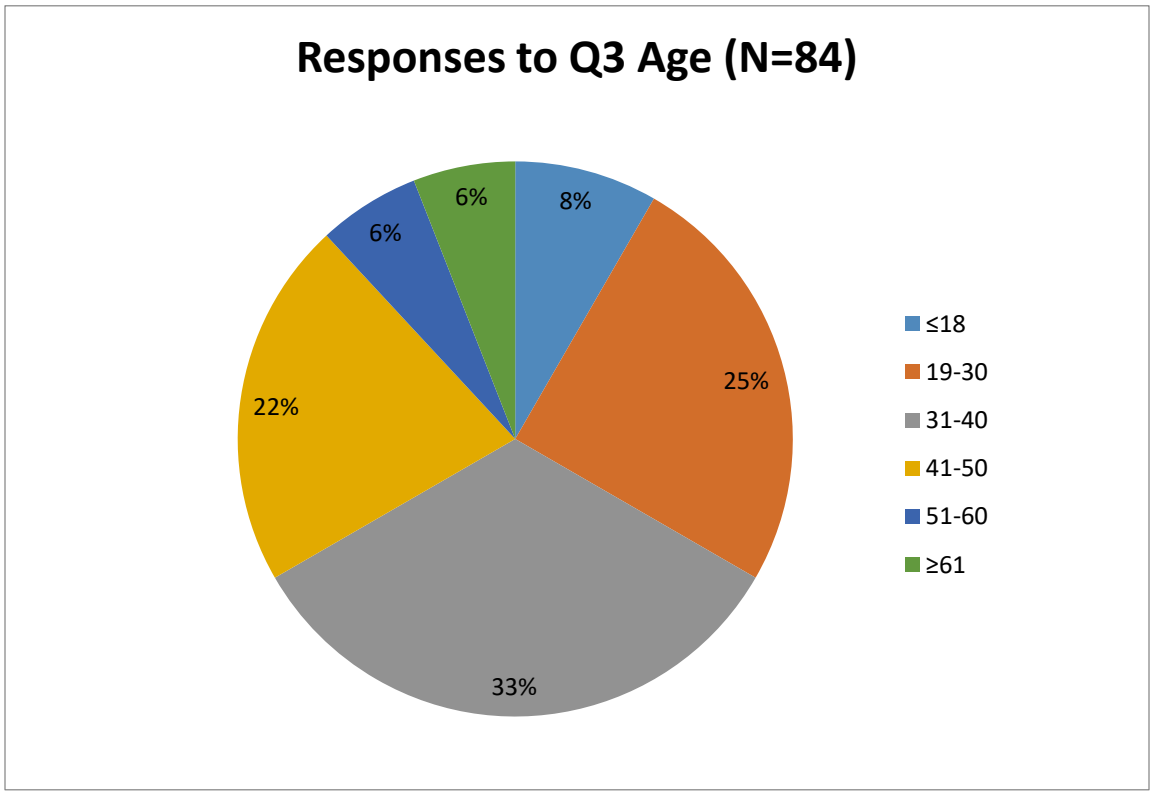
21. Do you think the current management system of the property is effective?

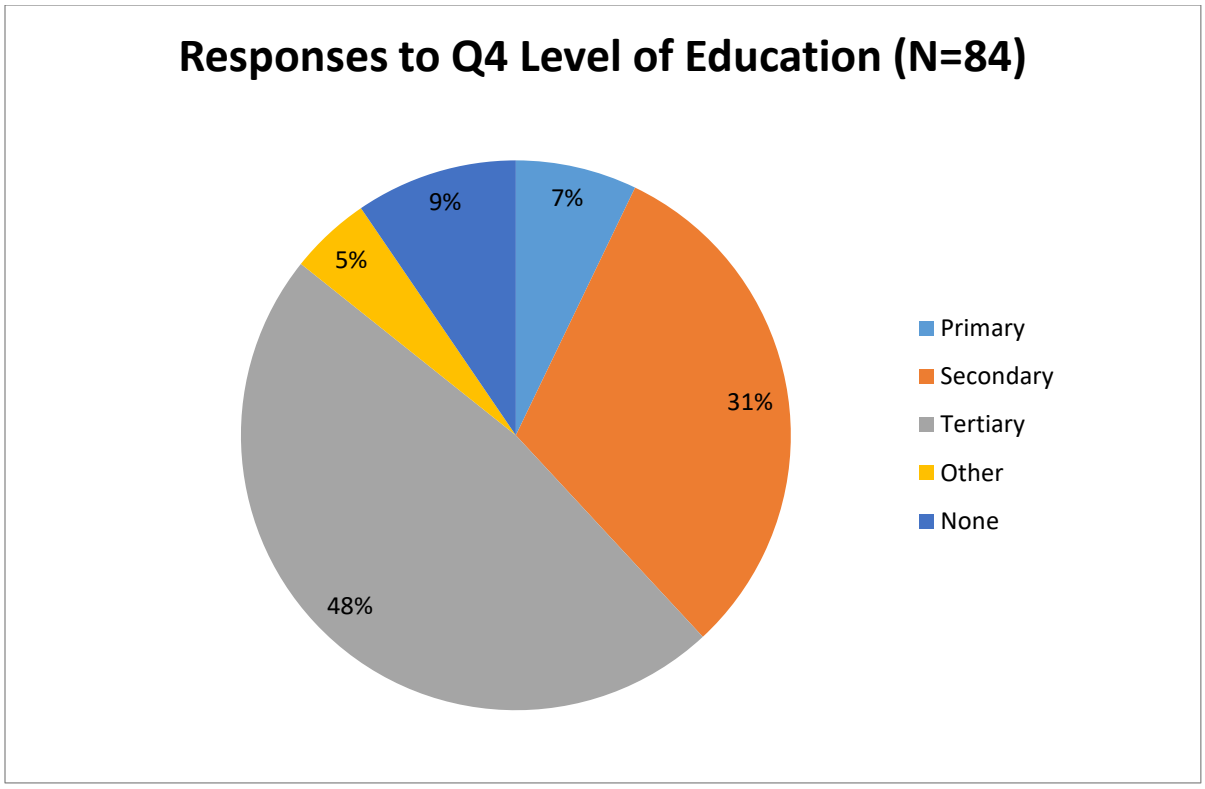
Yes	✓	No		Don't know	

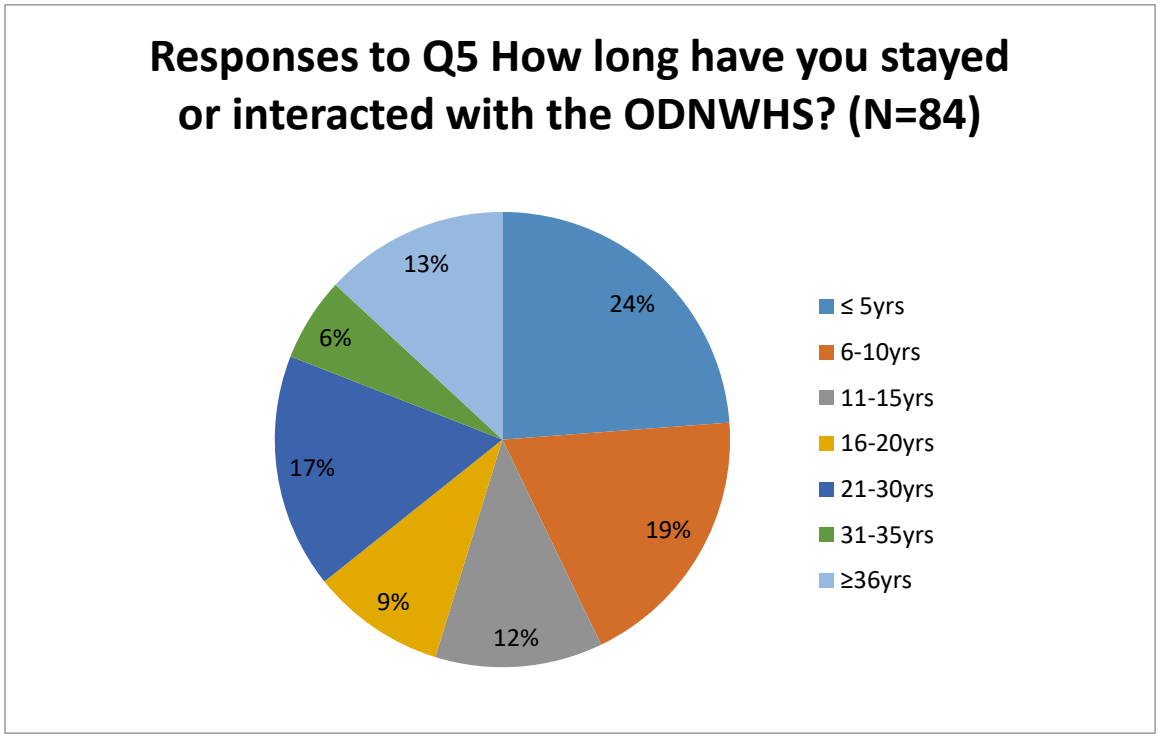
THANK YOU

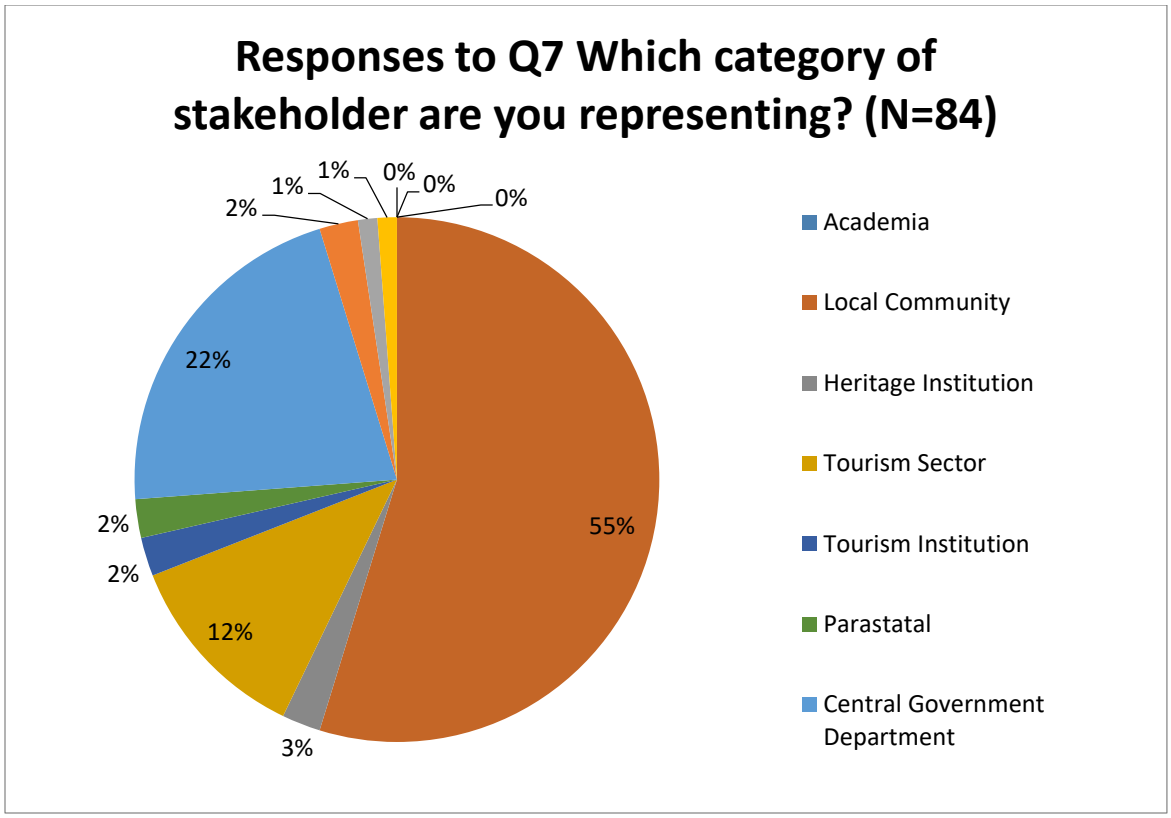
Appendix E: Questionnaire responses: Profile of respondents

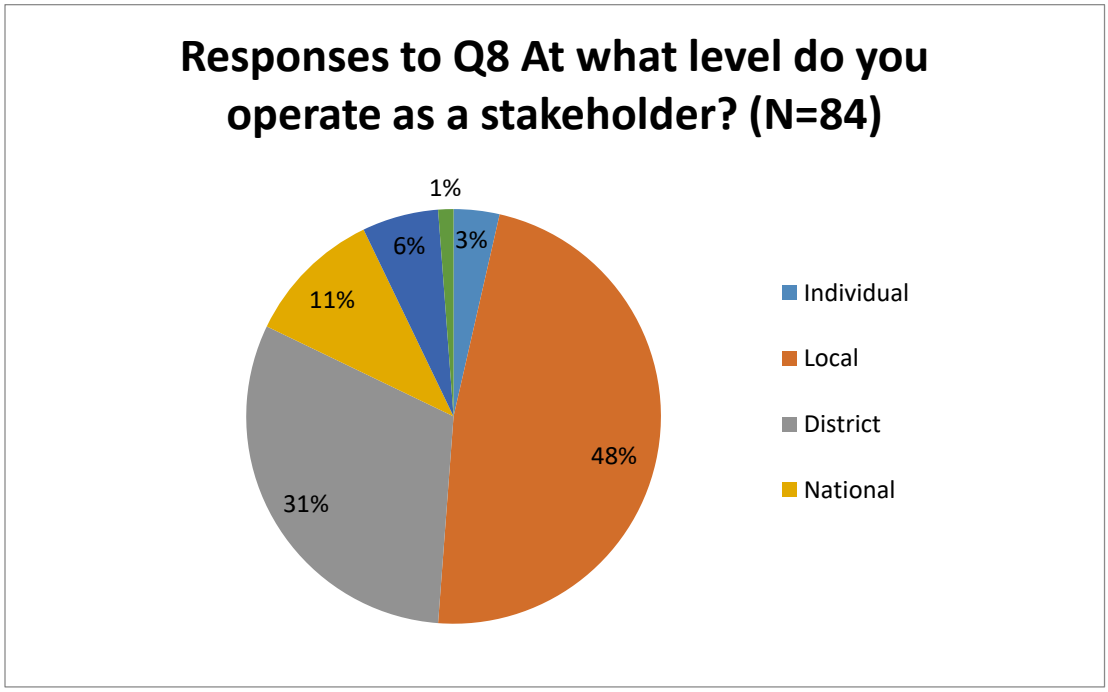





Responses to Q4 Level of Education (N=84)
7%
31%
48%
5%
9%
Primary
Secondary
Tertiary
Other
None

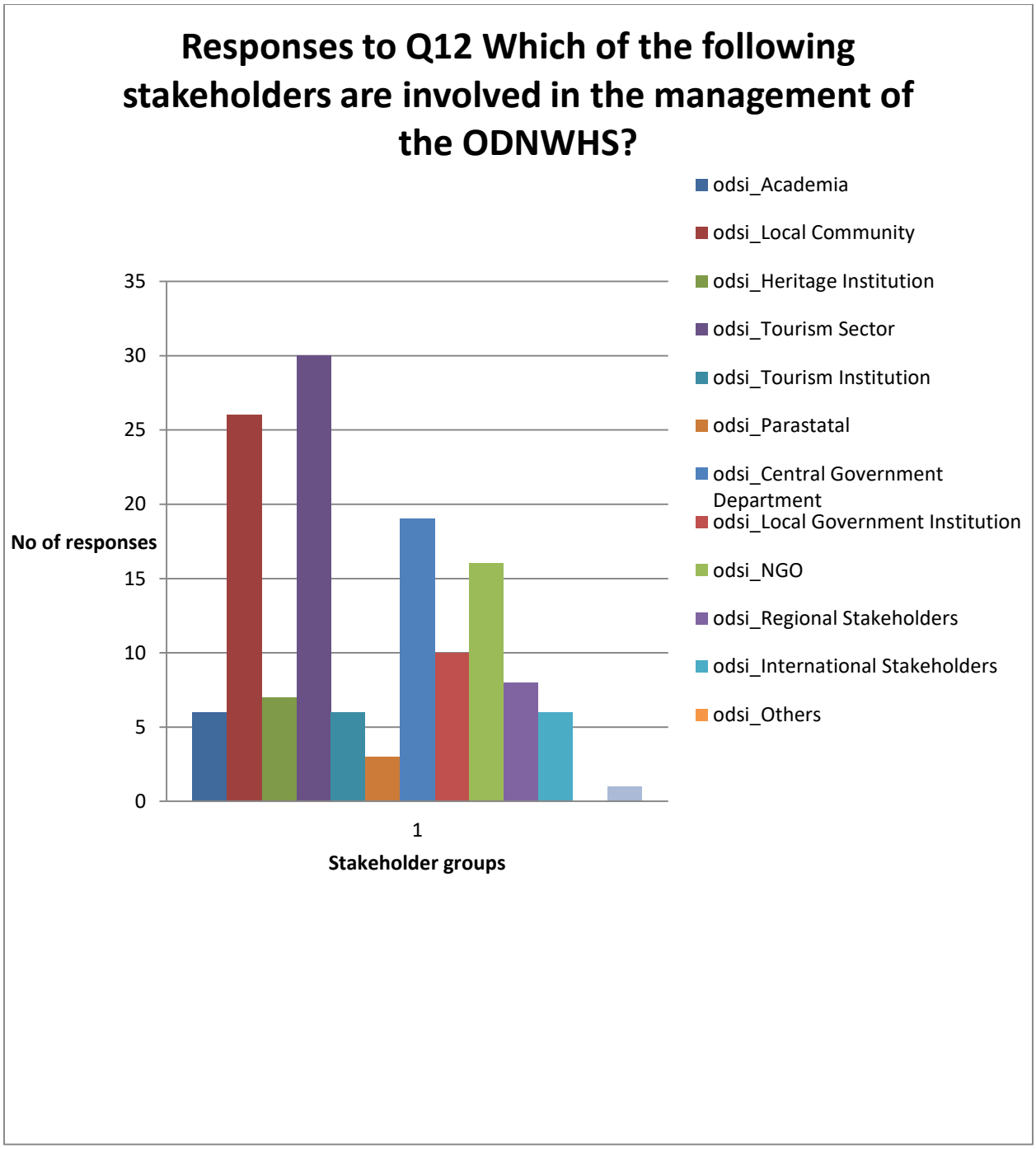

Responses to Q5 How long have you stayed or interacted with the ODNWHS? (N=84)
24%
19%
12%
9%
17%
6%
13%
≤ 5yrs
6-10yrs
11-15yrs
16-20yrs
21-30yrs
31-35yrs
≥36yrs

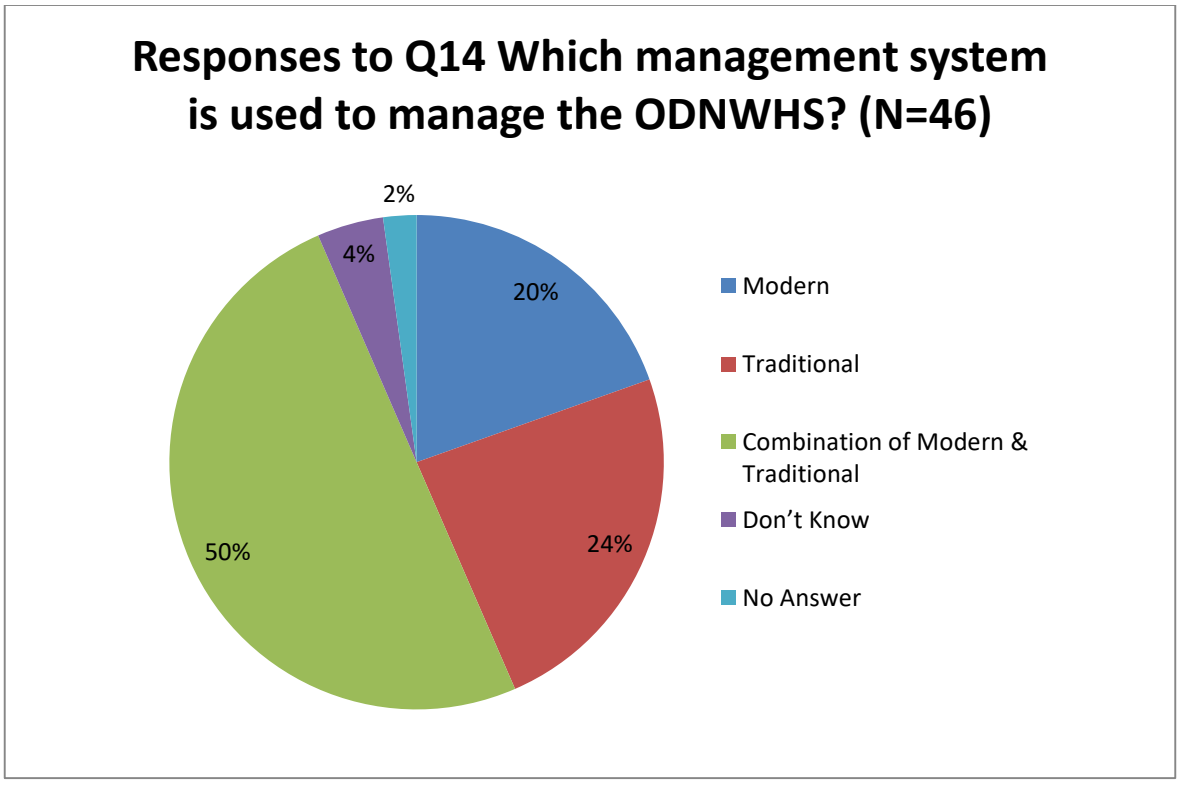

Responses to Q7 Which category of stakeholder are you representing? (N=84)
1%
0%
0%
1%
2%
0%
22%
55%
2%
2%
12%
3%
Academia
Local Community
Heritage Institution
Tourism Sector
Tourism Institution
Parastatal
Central Government Department

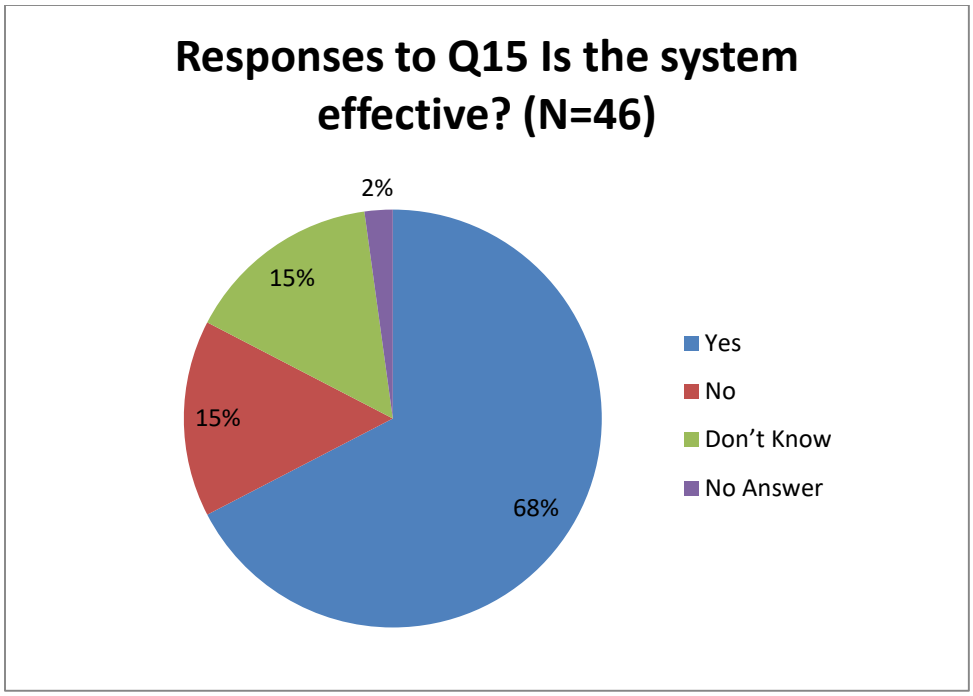

Responses to Q8 At what level do you operate as a stakeholder? (N=84)
1%
3%
6%
11%
48%
31%
Individual
Local
District
National

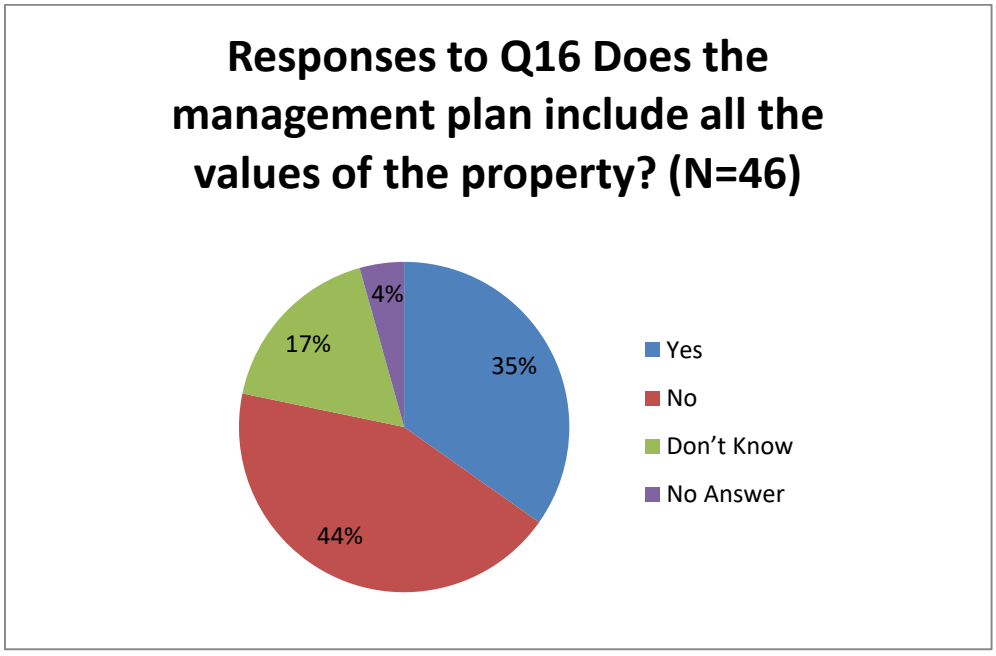
Appendix F: Questionnaire Responses as per the Community Stakeholder Category

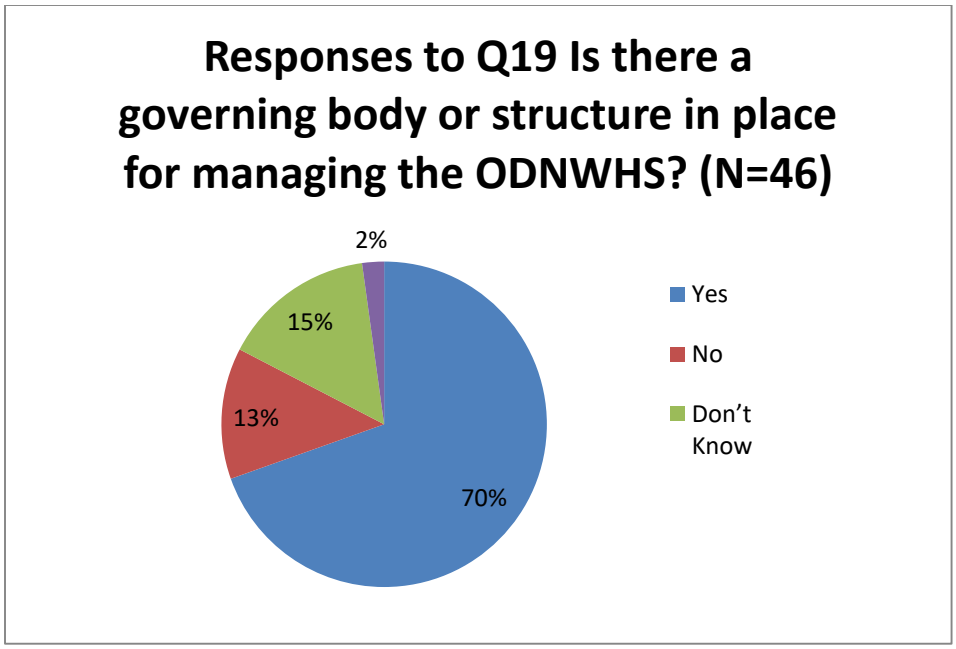
Questionnaire-Local Community Responses

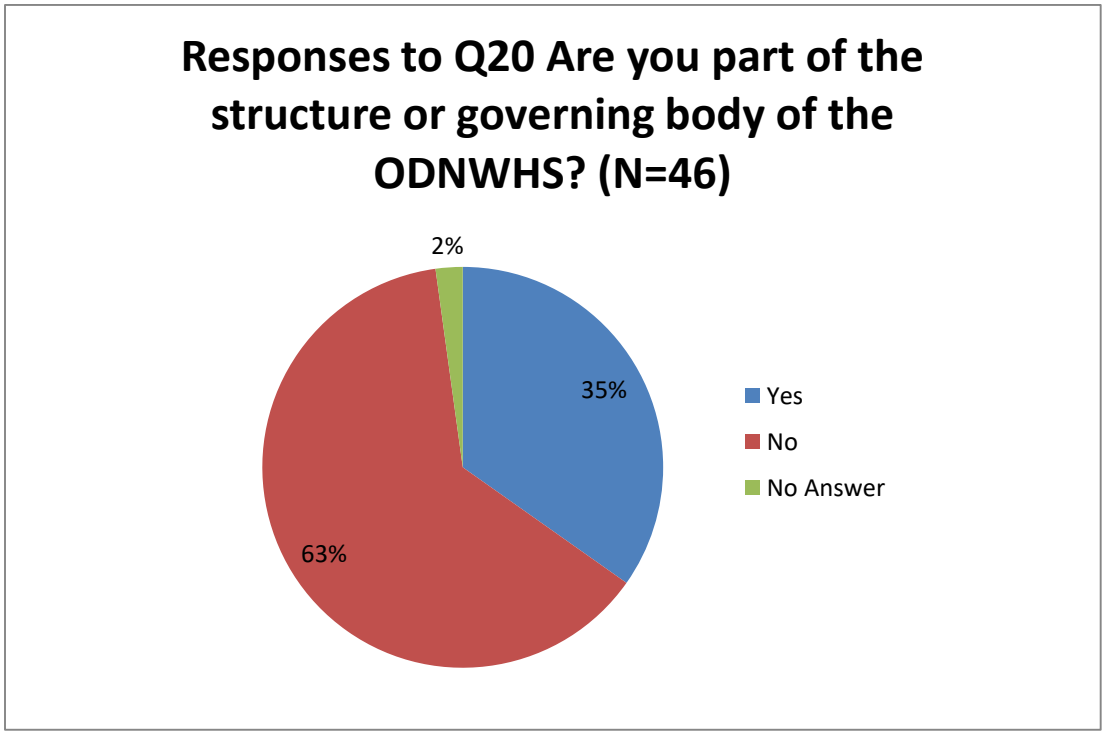


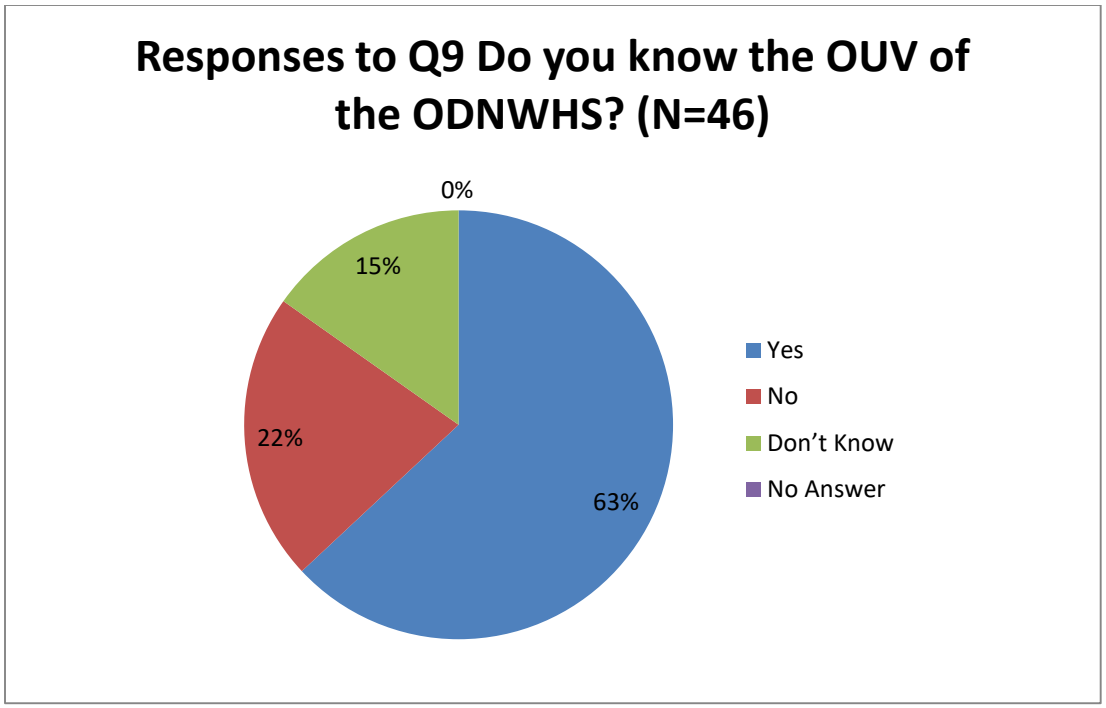

Responses to Q14 Which management system is used to manage the ODNWHS? (N=46)
2%
4%
20%
50%
24%
Modern
Traditional
Combination of Modern & Traditional
Don't Know
No Answer

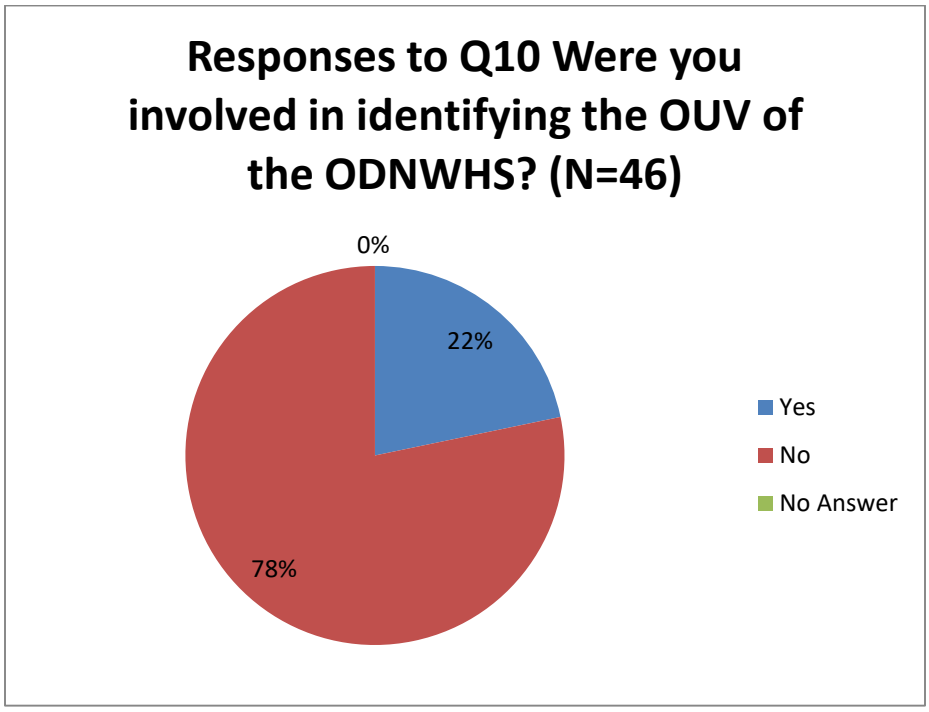

Responses to Q15 Is the system effective? (N=46)
2%
15%
15%
68%
Yes
No
Don't Know
No Answer

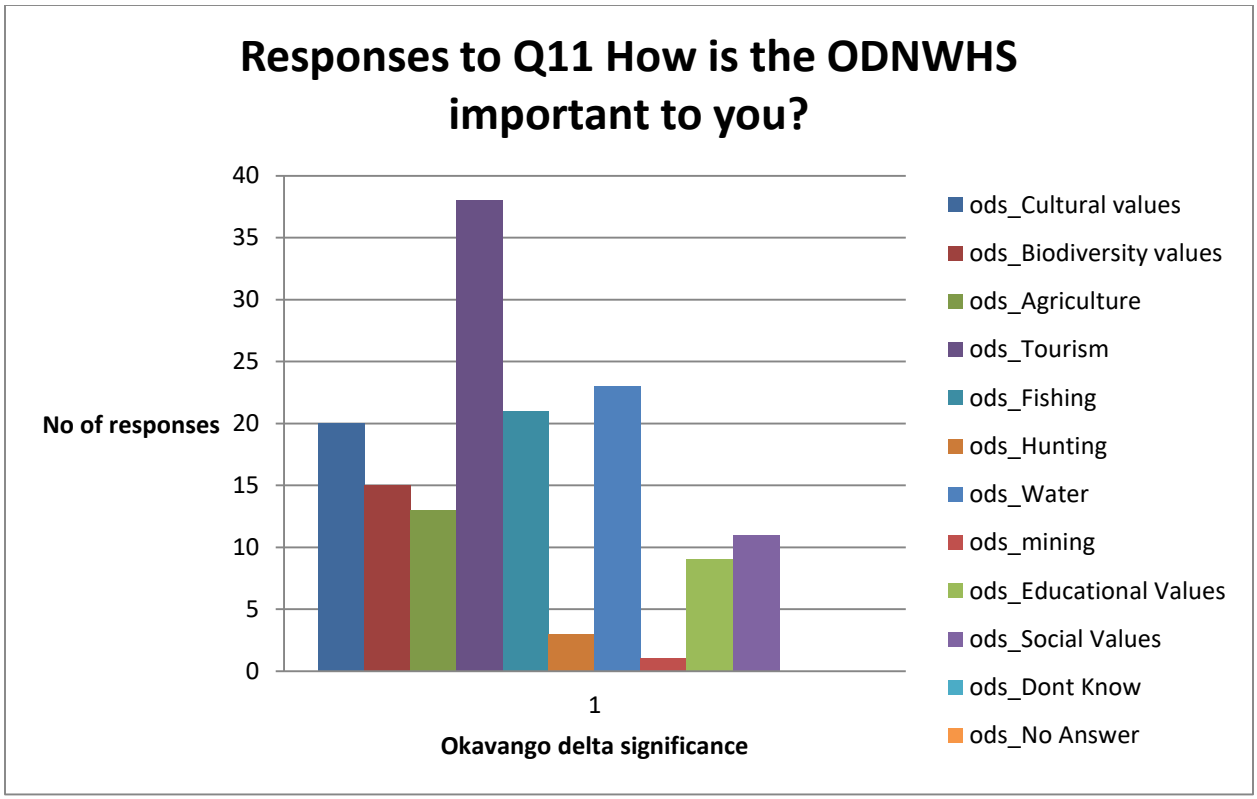

Responses to Q16 Does the management plan include all the values of the property? (N=46)
4%
17%
35%
44%
Yes
No
Don't Know
No Answer

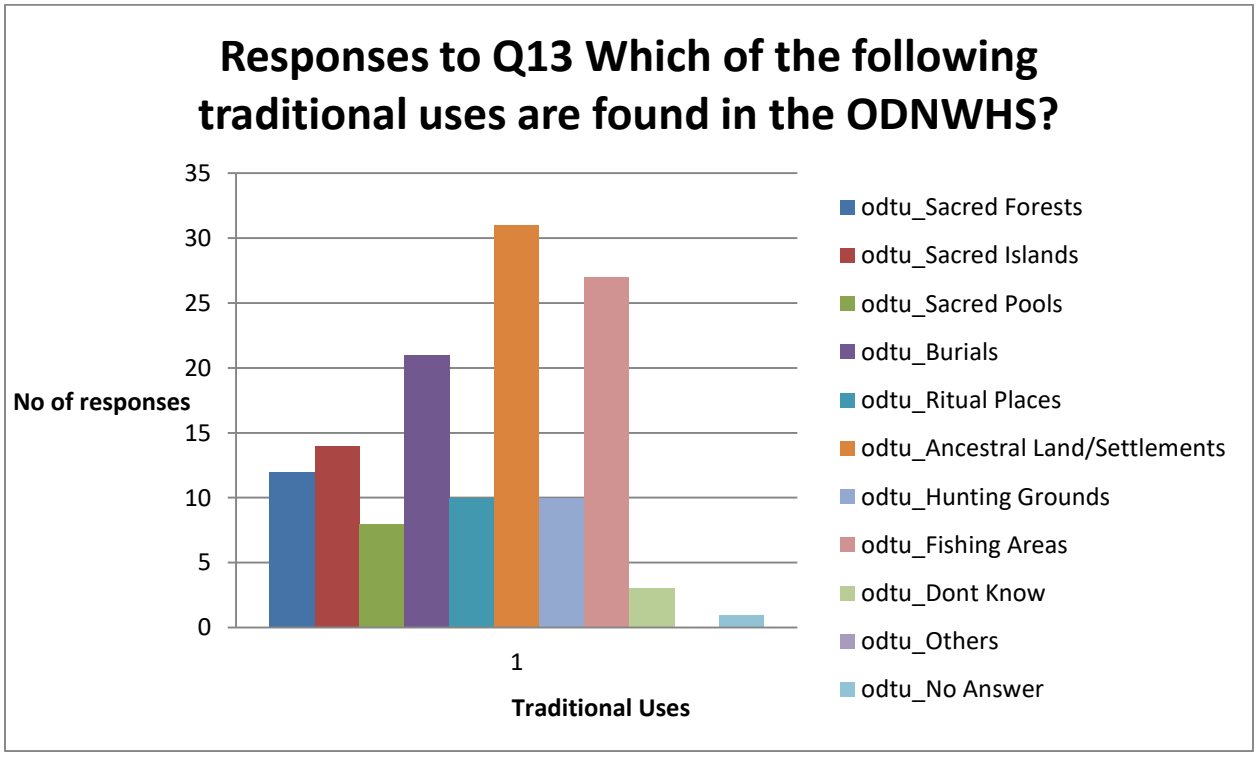

Responses to Q19 Is there a governing body or structure in place for managing the ODNWHS? (N=46)
2%
15%
13%
70%
Yes
No
Don't Know

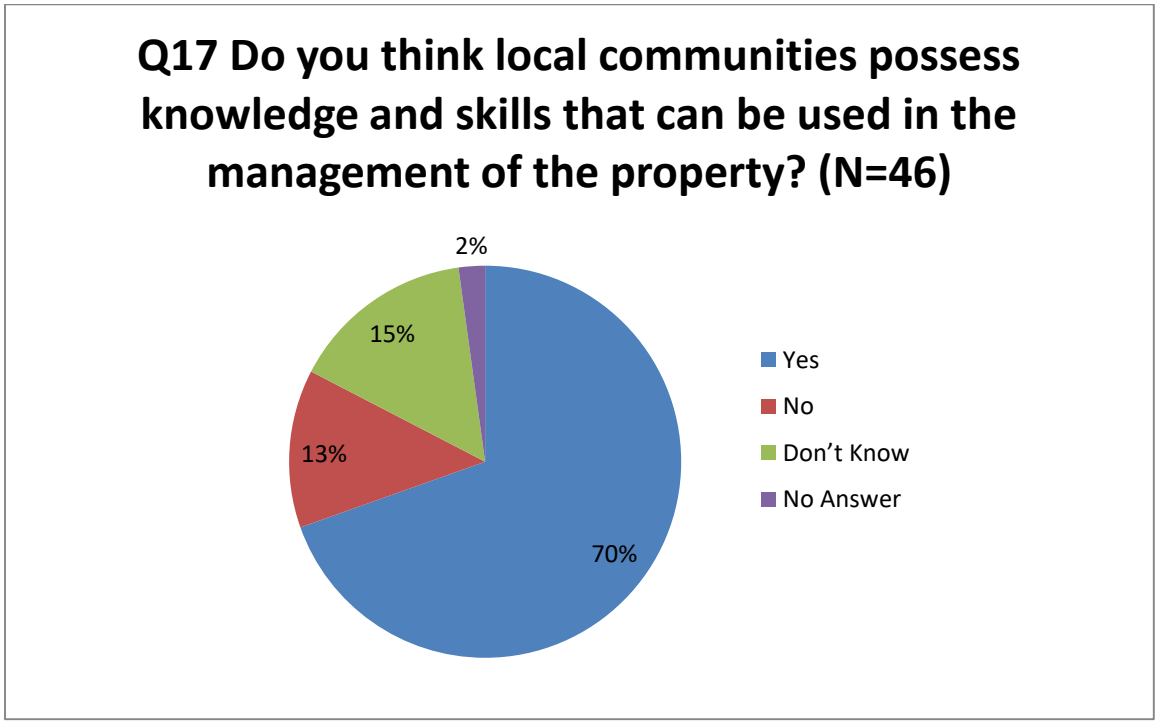

Responses to Q20 Are you part of the structure or governing body of the ODNWHS? (N=46)
2%
35%
63%
Yes
No
No Answer

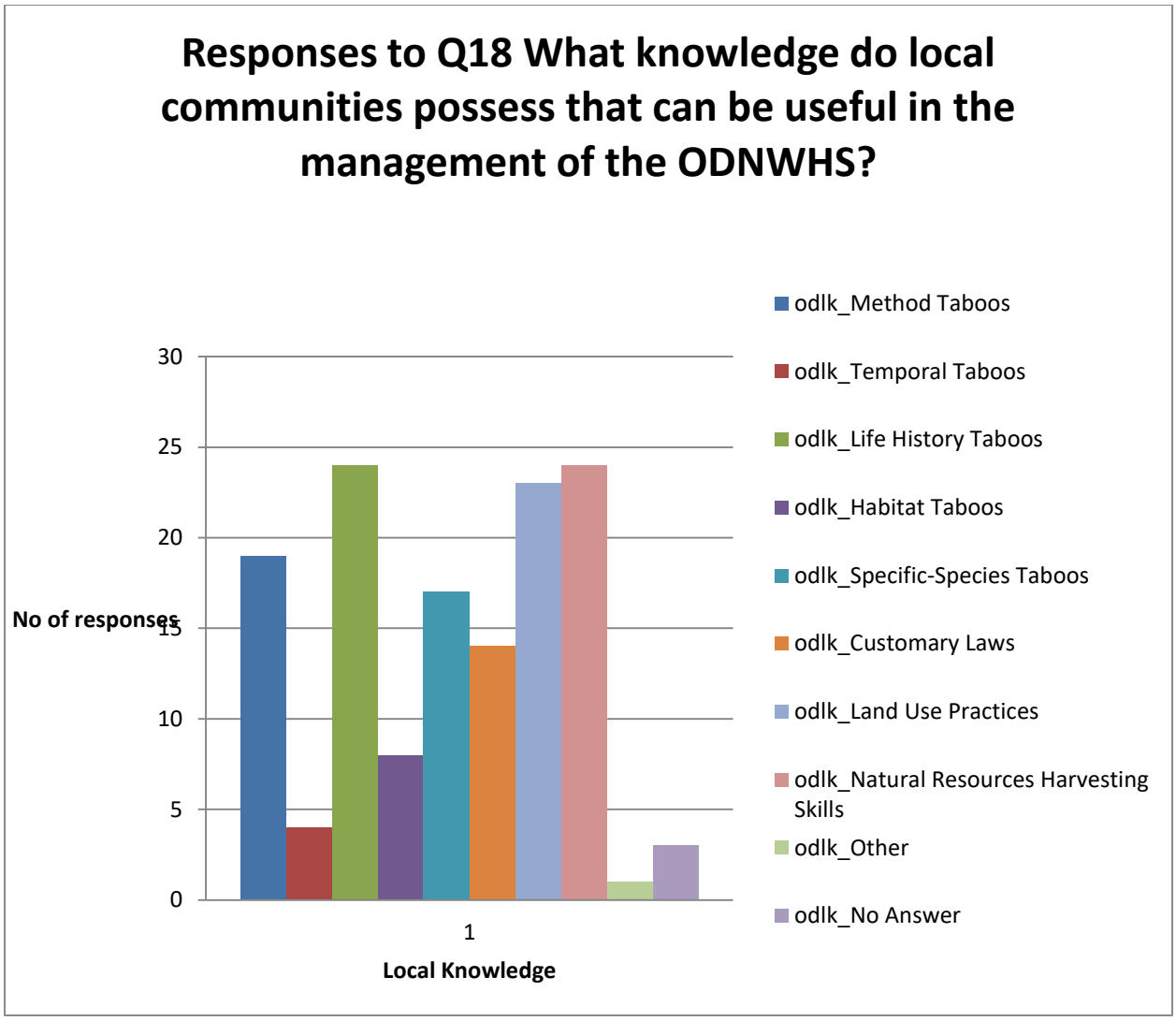

Responses to Q9 Do you know the OUV of the ODNWHS? (N=46)
0%
15%
22%
63%
Yes
No
Don't Know
No Answer


Responses to Q10 Were you involved in identifying the OUV of the ODNWHS? (N=46)
0%
22%
78%
Yes
No
No Answer


Responses to Q11 How is the ODNWHS important to you?
No of responses
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
1
Okavango delta significance
ods_Cultural values
ods_Biodiversity values
ods_Agriculture
ods_Tourism
ods_Fishing
ods_Hunting
ods_Water
ods_mining
ods_Educational Values
ods_Social Values
ods_Dont Know
ods_No Answer

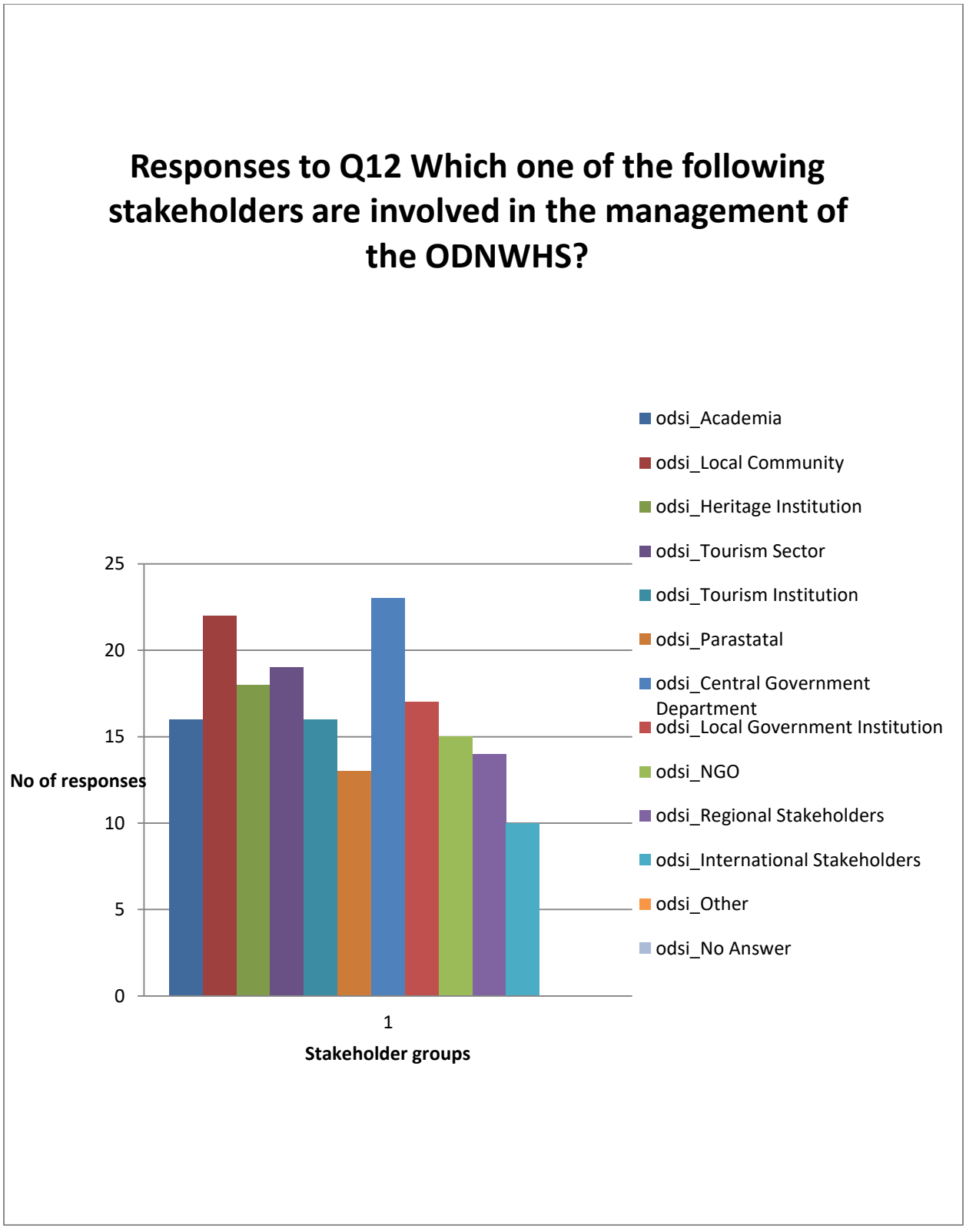

Responses to Q13 Which of the following traditional uses are found in the ODNWHS?
No of responses
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
1
Traditional Uses
odtu_Sacred Forests
odtu_Sacred Islands
odtu_Sacred Pools
odtu_Burials
odtu_Ritual Places
odtu_Ancestral Land/Settlements
odtu_Hunting Grounds
odtu_Fishing Areas
odtu_Dont Know
odtu_Others
odtu_No Answer

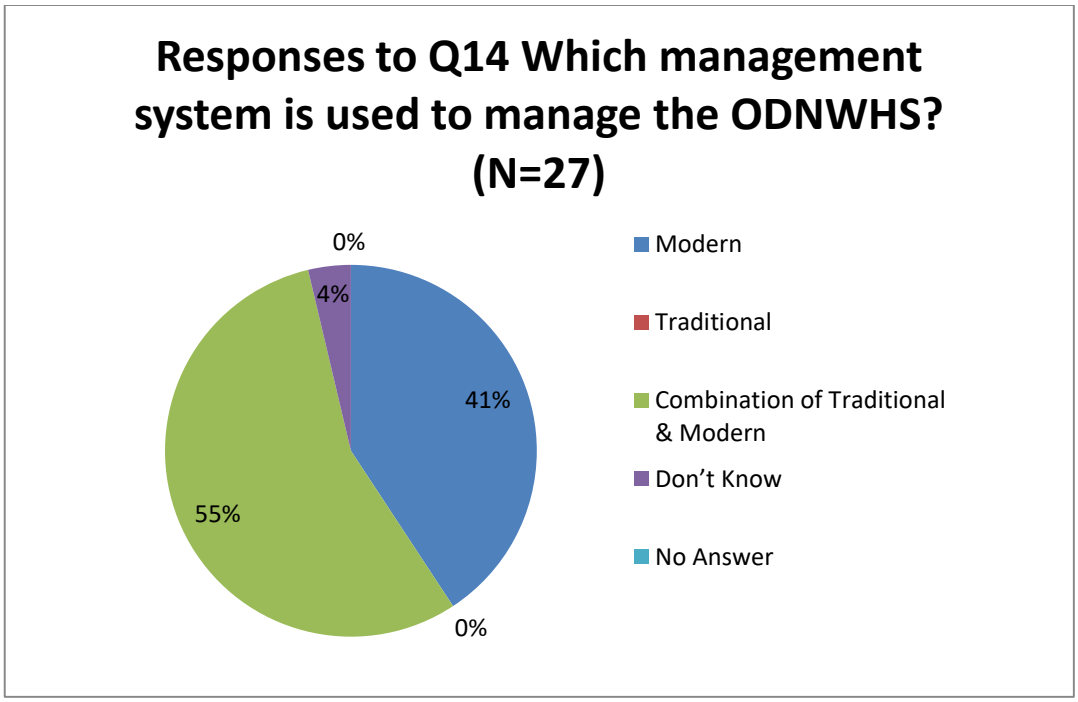

Q17 Do you think local communities possess knowledge and skills that can be used in the management of the property? (N=46)
2%
15%
13%
70%
Yes
No
Don't Know
No Answer

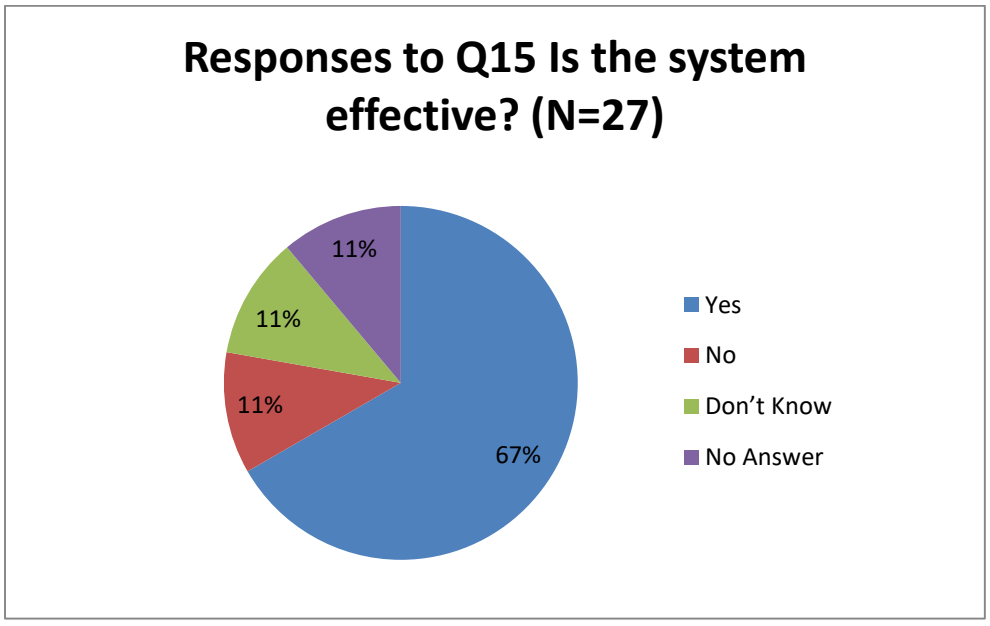

Responses to Q18 What knowledge do local communities possess that can be useful in the management of the ODNWHS?
No of responses
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
1
Local Knowledge
odlk_Method Taboos
odlk_Temporal Taboos
odlk_Life History Taboos
odlk_Habitat Taboos
odlk_Specific-Species Taboos
odlk_Customary Laws
odlk_Land Use Practices
odlk_Natural Resources Harvesting Skills
odlk_Other
odlk_No Answer

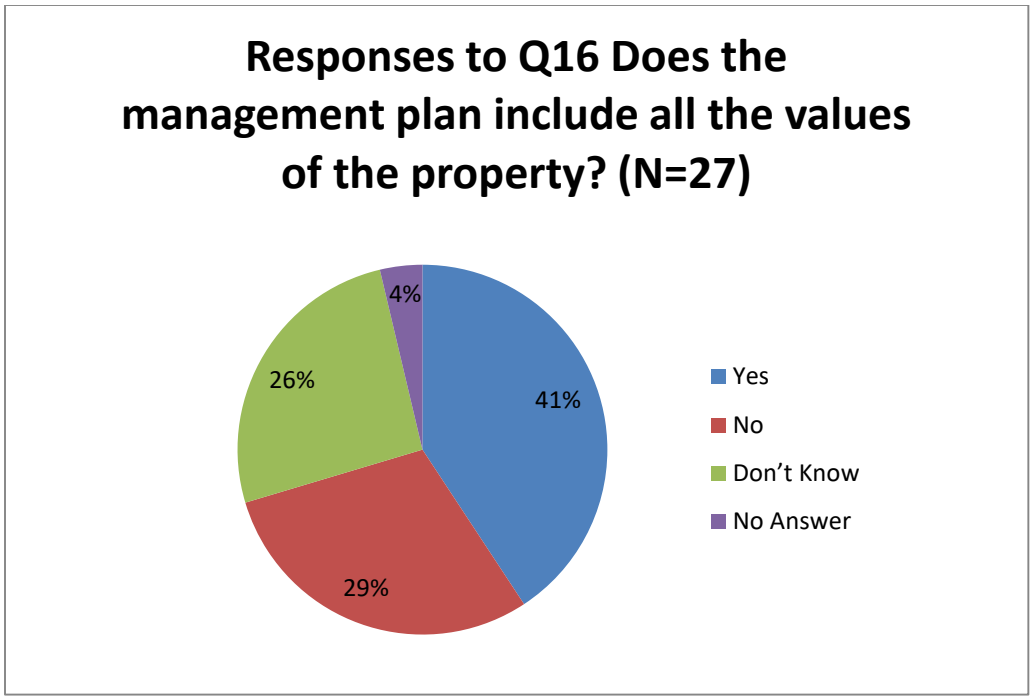
Appendix G: Questionnaire Responses by the Government Stakeholder Category

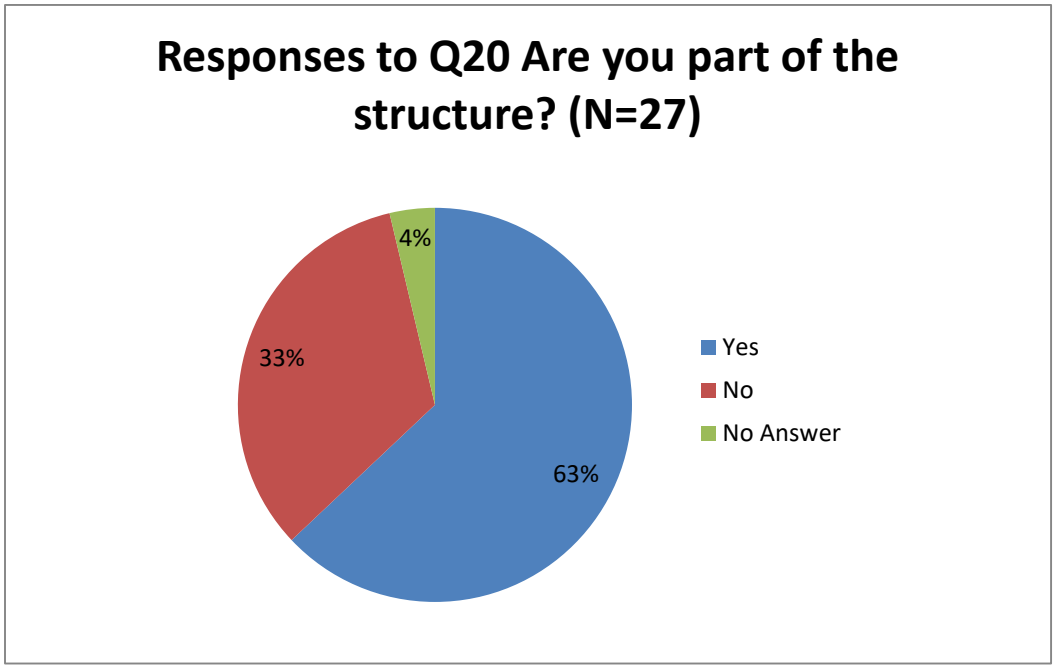
Questionnaire-Government Category responses

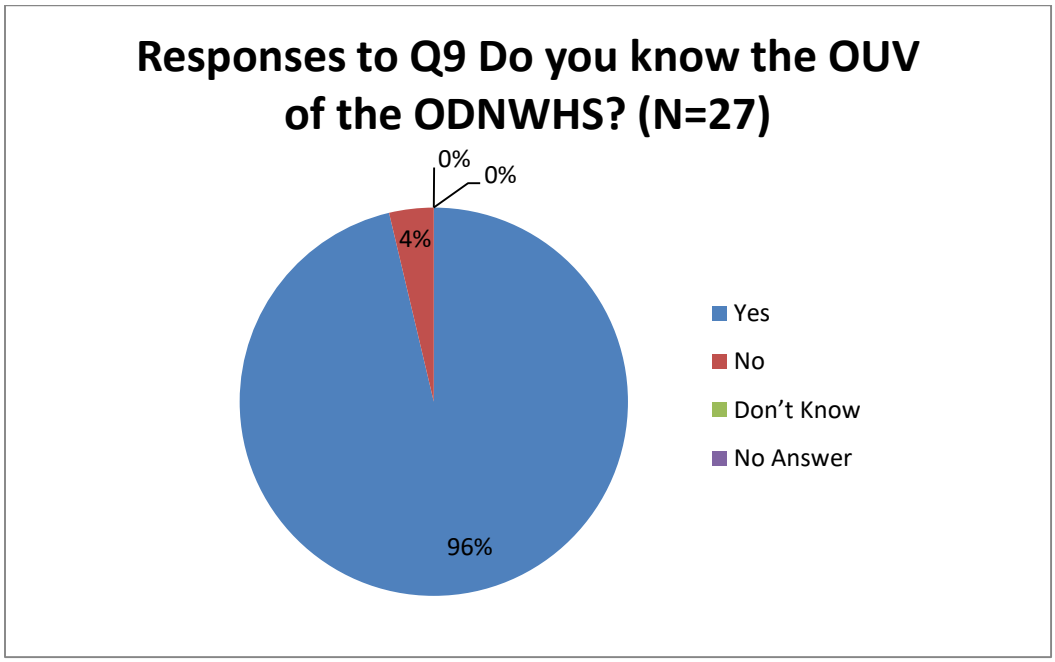


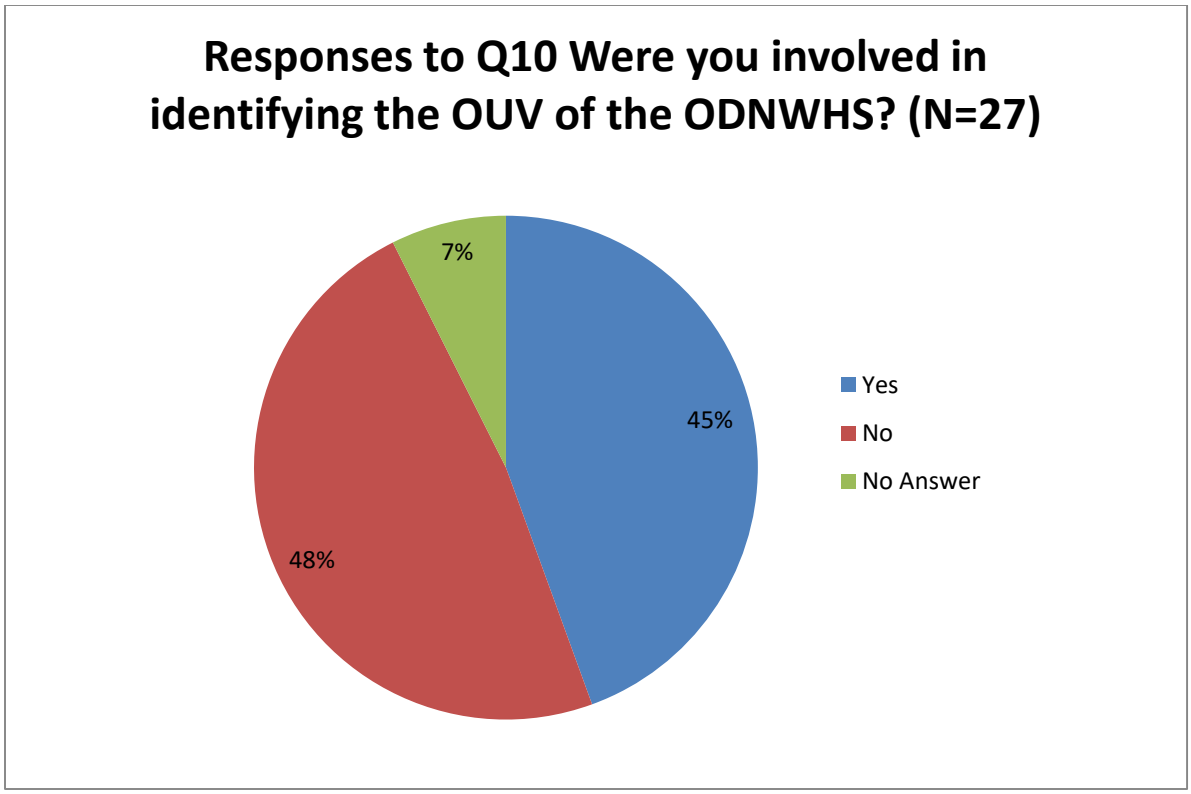

Responses to Q14 Which management system is used to manage the ODNWHS? (N=27)
0%
4%
41%
55%
0%
Modern
Traditional
Combination of Traditional & Modern
Don't Know
No Answer

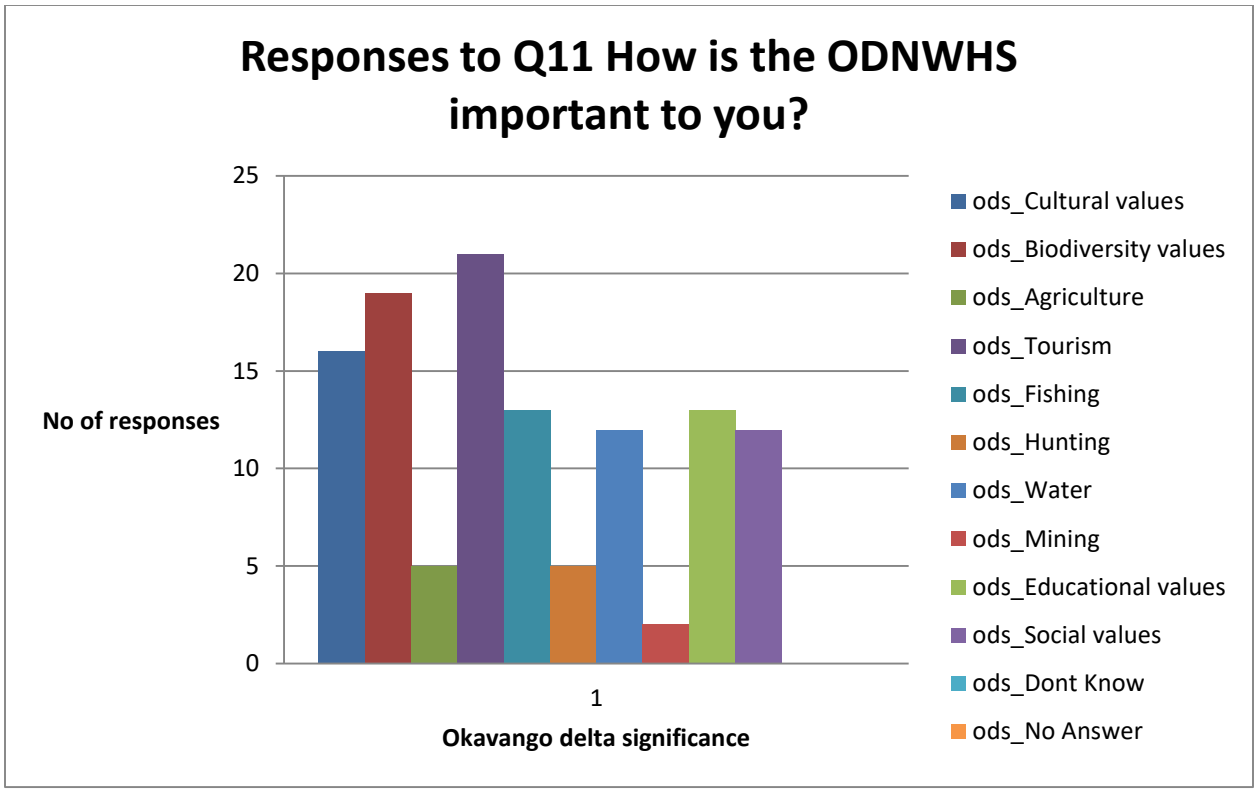

Responses to Q15 Is the system effective? (N=27)
11%
11%
11%
67%
Yes
No
Don't Know
No Answer

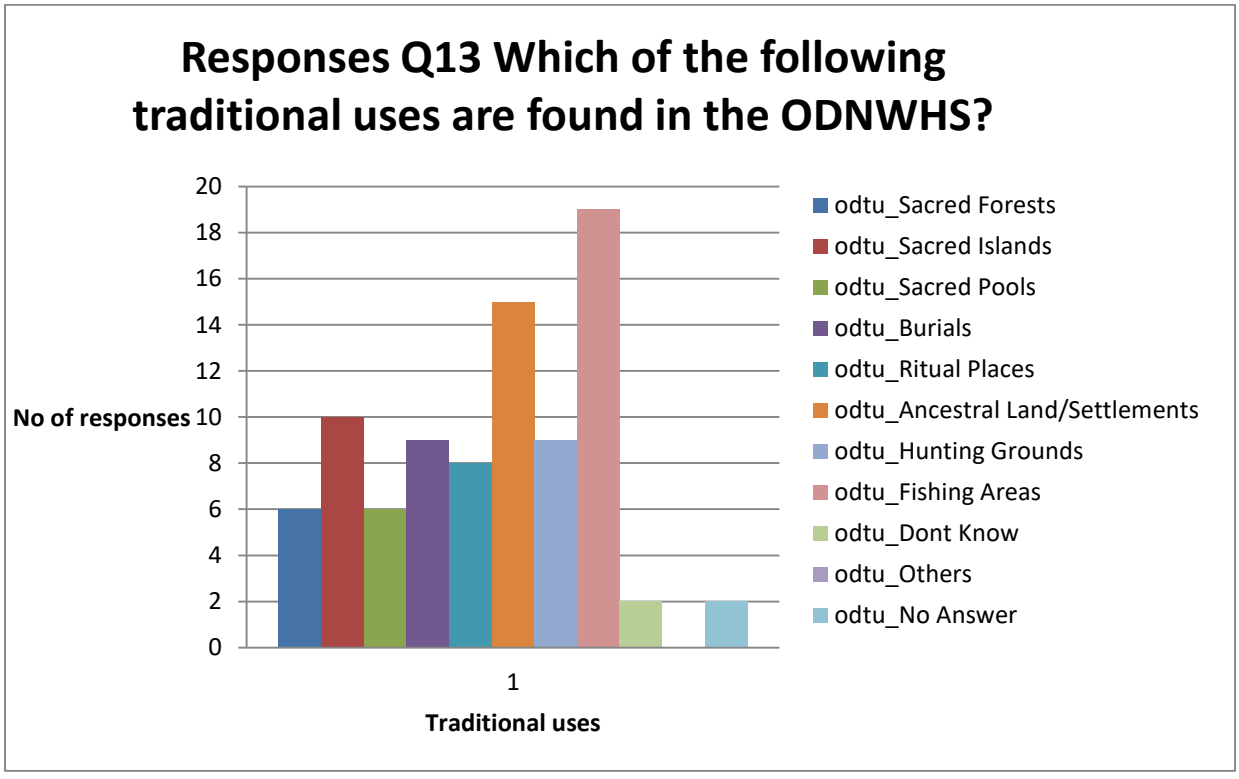

Responses to Q16 Does the management plan include all the values of the property? (N=27)
4%
26%
41%
29%
Yes
No
Don't Know
No Answer

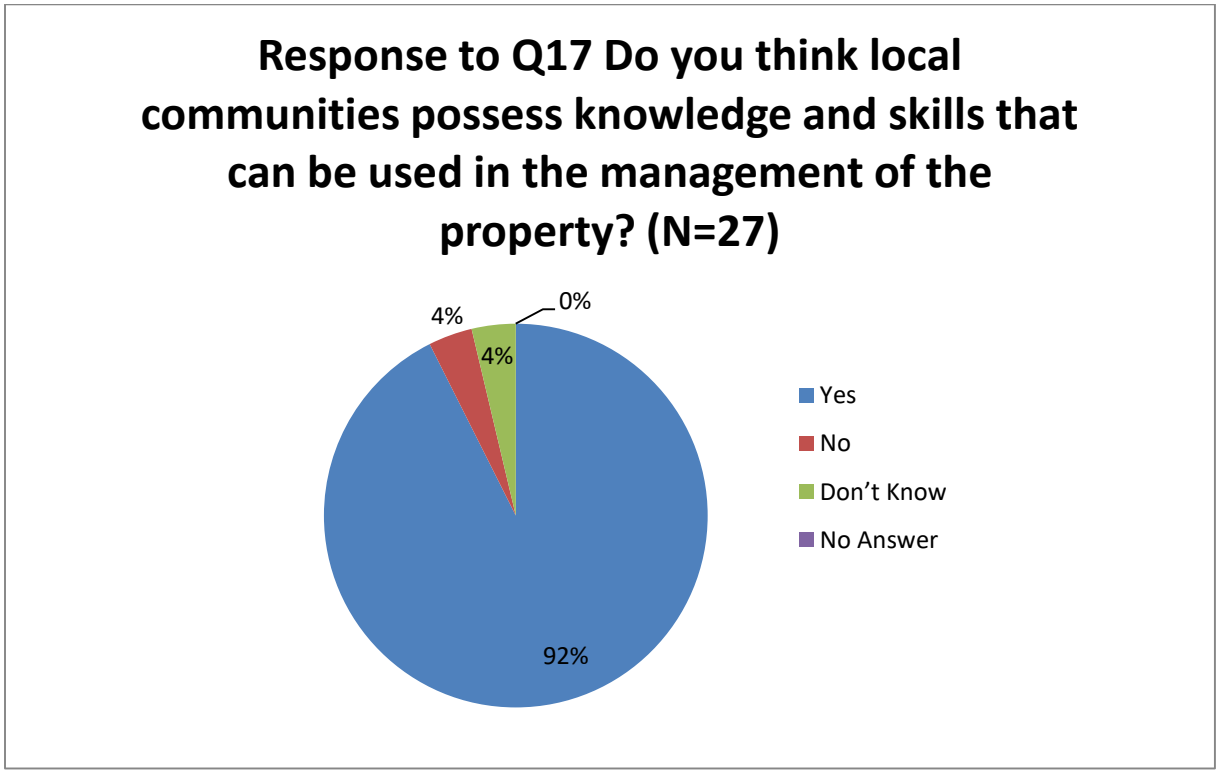

Responses to Q20 Are you part of the structure? (N=27)
4%
33%
63%
Yes
No
No Answer

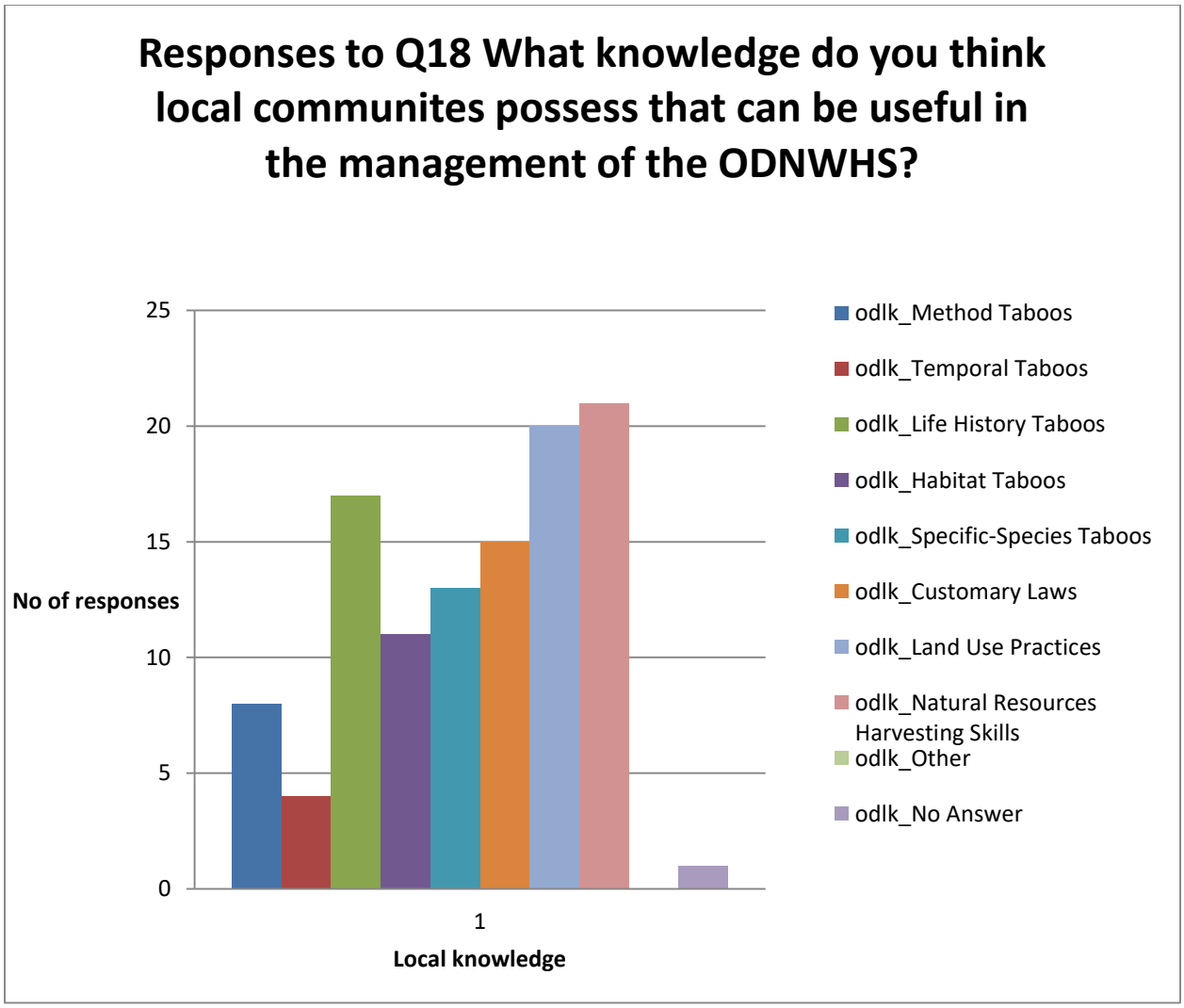

Responses to Q9 Do you know the OUV of the ODNWHS? (N=27)
0%
0%
4%
96%
Yes
No
Don't Know
No Answer


Responses to Q10 Were you involved in identifying the OUV of the ODNWHS? (N=27)
7%
45%
48%
Yes
No
No Answer


Responses to Q11 How is the ODNWHS important to you?
No of responses
25
20
15
10
5
0
1
Okavango delta significance
ods_Cultural values
ods_Biodiversity values
ods_Agriculture
ods_Tourism
ods_Fishing
ods_Hunting
ods_Water
ods_Mining
ods_Educational values
ods_Social values
ods_Dont Know
ods_No Answer

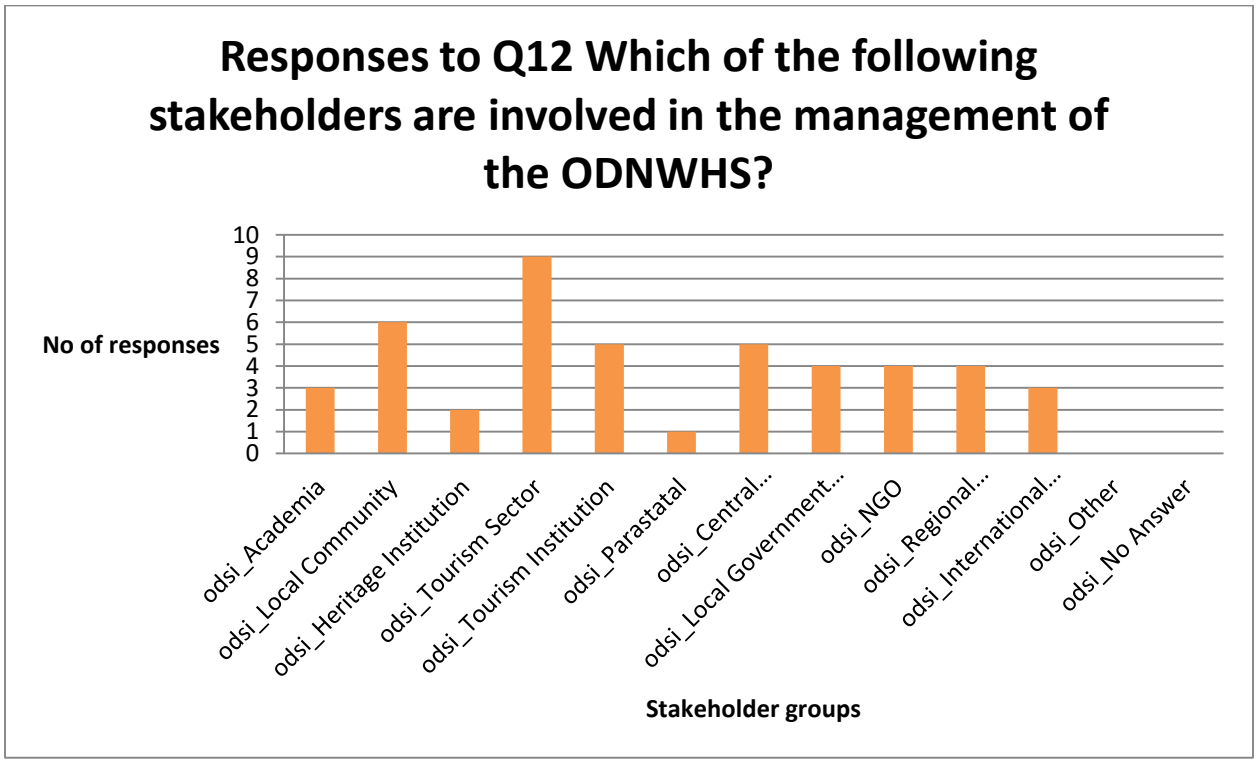

Responses Q13 Which of the following traditional uses are found in the ODNWHS?
No of responses
20
18
16
14
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
1
Traditional uses
odtu_Sacred Forests
odtu_Sacred Islands
odtu_Sacred Pools
odtu_Burials
odtu_Ritual Places
odtu_Ancestral Land/Settlements
odtu_Hunting Grounds
odtu_Fishing Areas
odtu_Dont Know
odtu_Others
odtu_No Answer

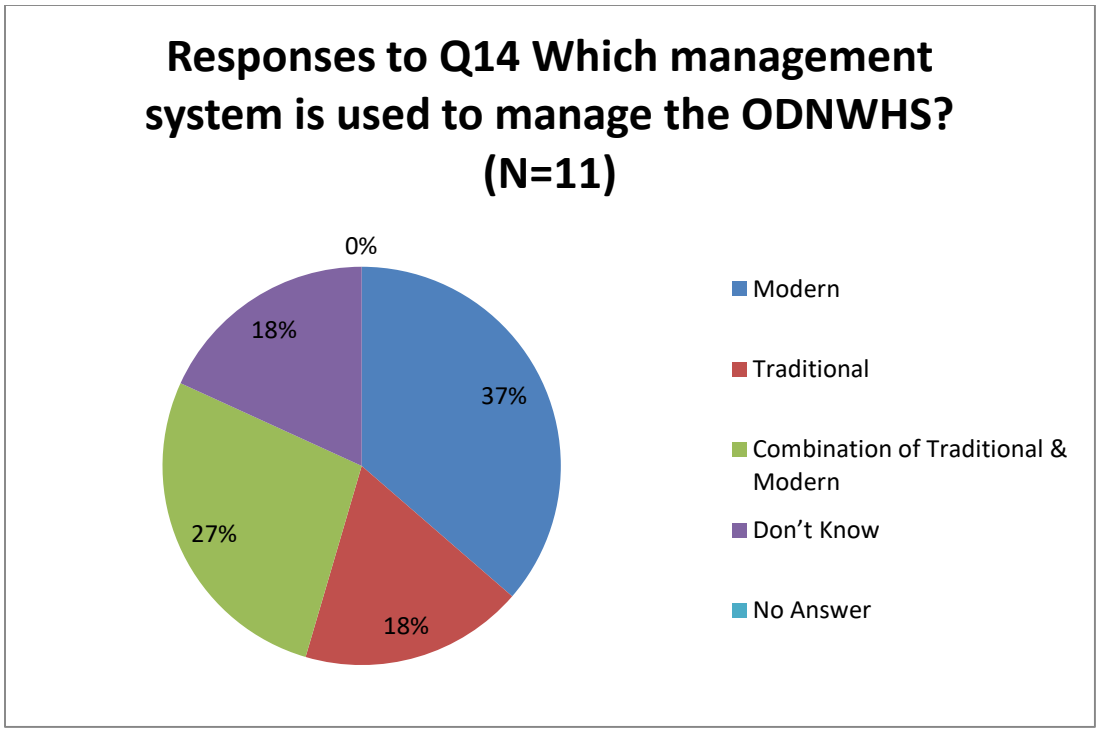

Response to Q17 Do you think local communities possess knowledge and skills that can be used in the management of the property? (N=27)
4%
0%
4%
92%
Yes
No
Don't Know
No Answer

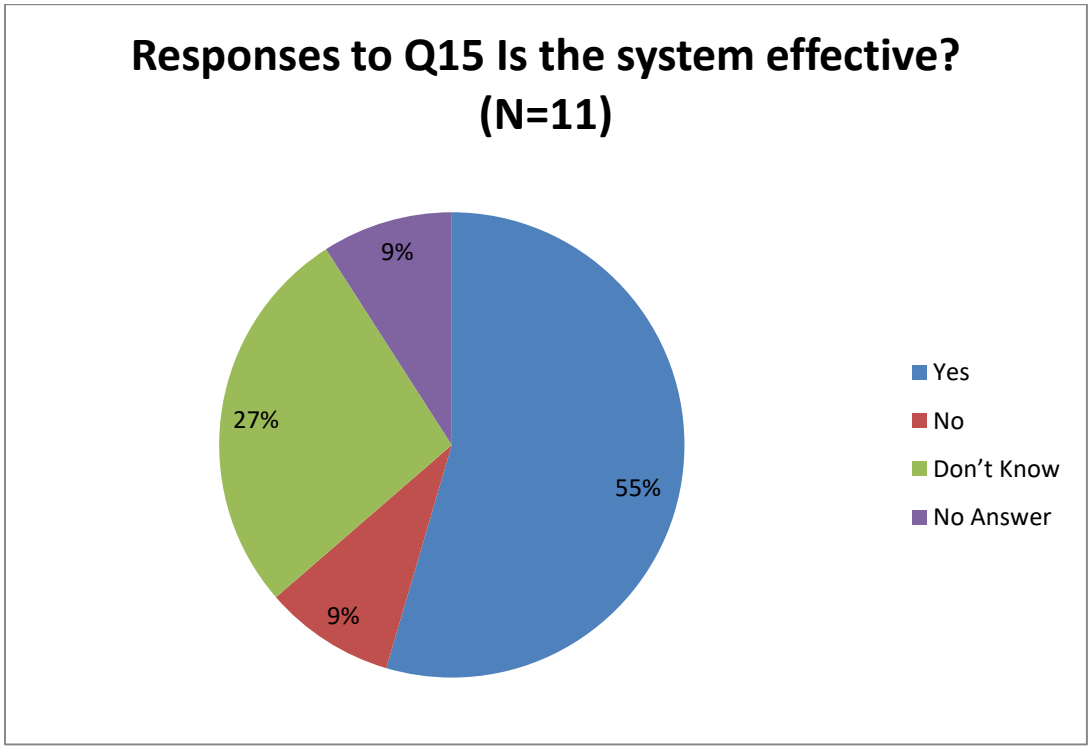

Responses to Q18 What knowledge do you think local communites possess that can be useful in the management of the ODNWHS?
25
20
15
10
5
0
No of responses
1
Local knowledge
odlk_Method Taboos
odlk_Temporal Taboos
odlk_Life History Taboos
odlk_Habitat Taboos
odlk_Specific-Species Taboos
odlk_Customary Laws
odlk_Land Use Practices
odlk_Natural Resources Harvesting Skills
odlk_Other
odlk_No Answer

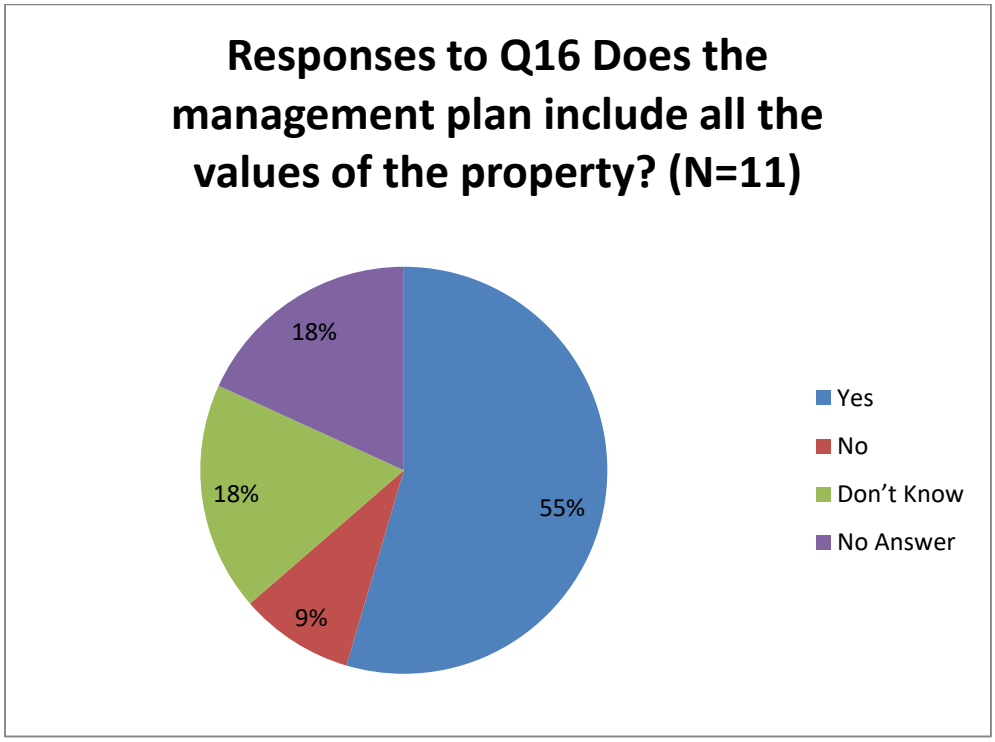
Appendix H: Questionnaire Responses by the Tourism Stakeholder Category

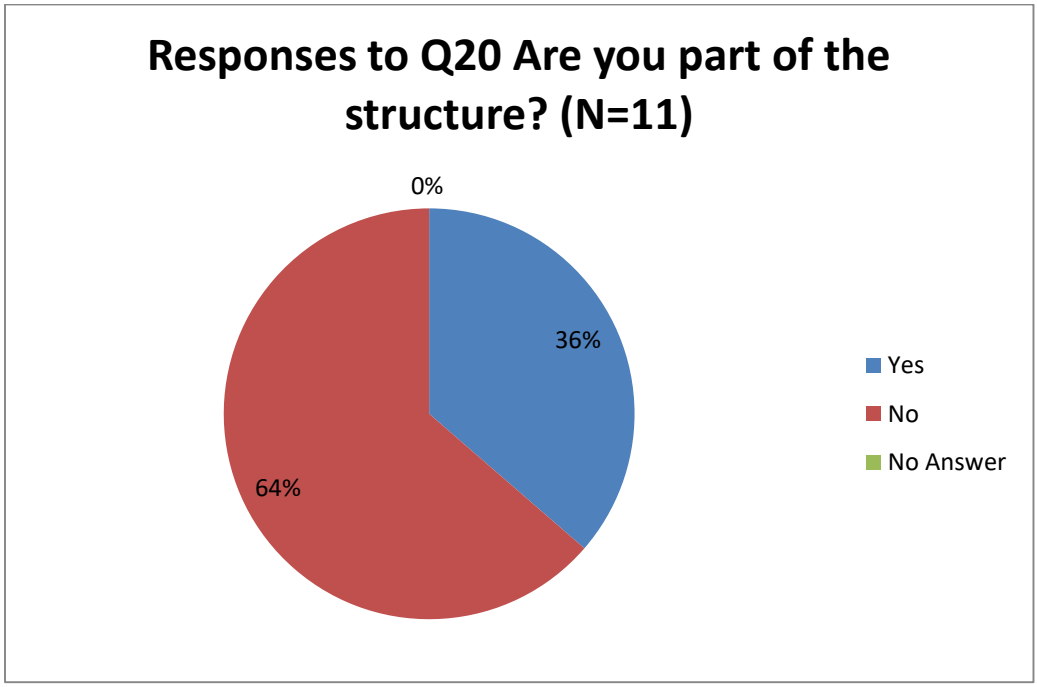
Questionnaire-Tourism Sector responses

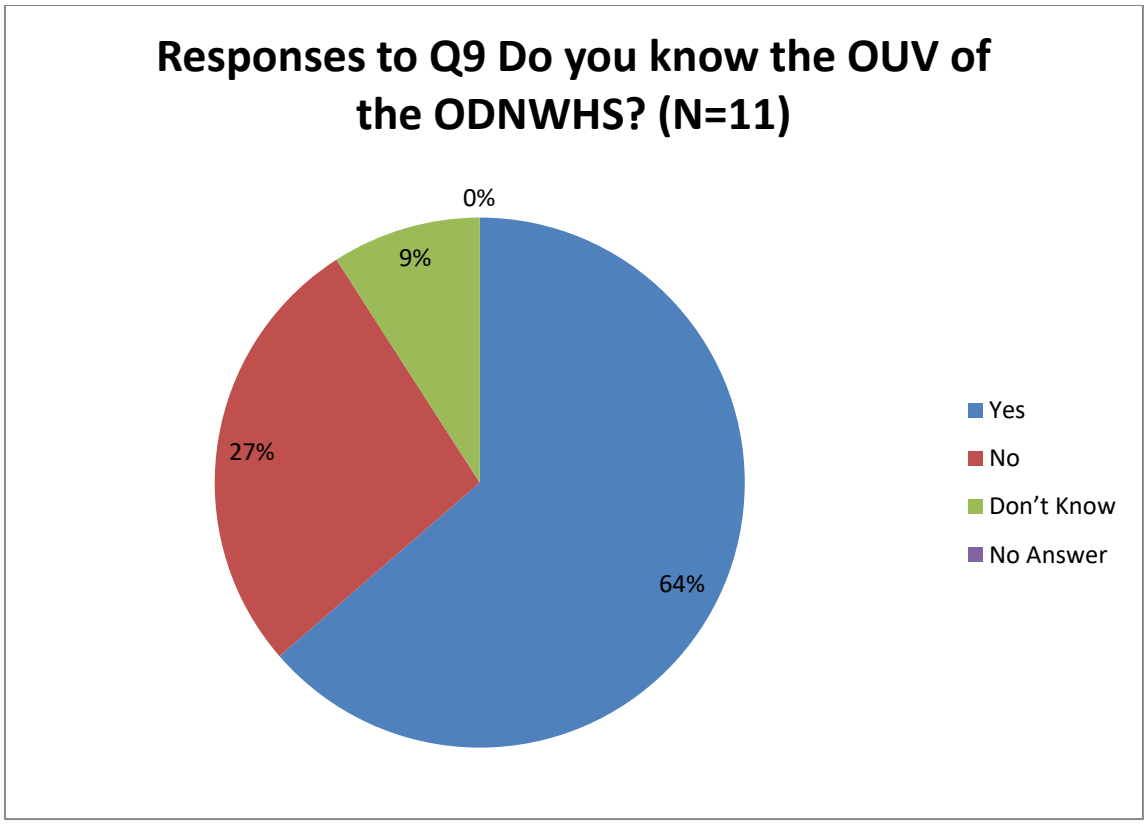


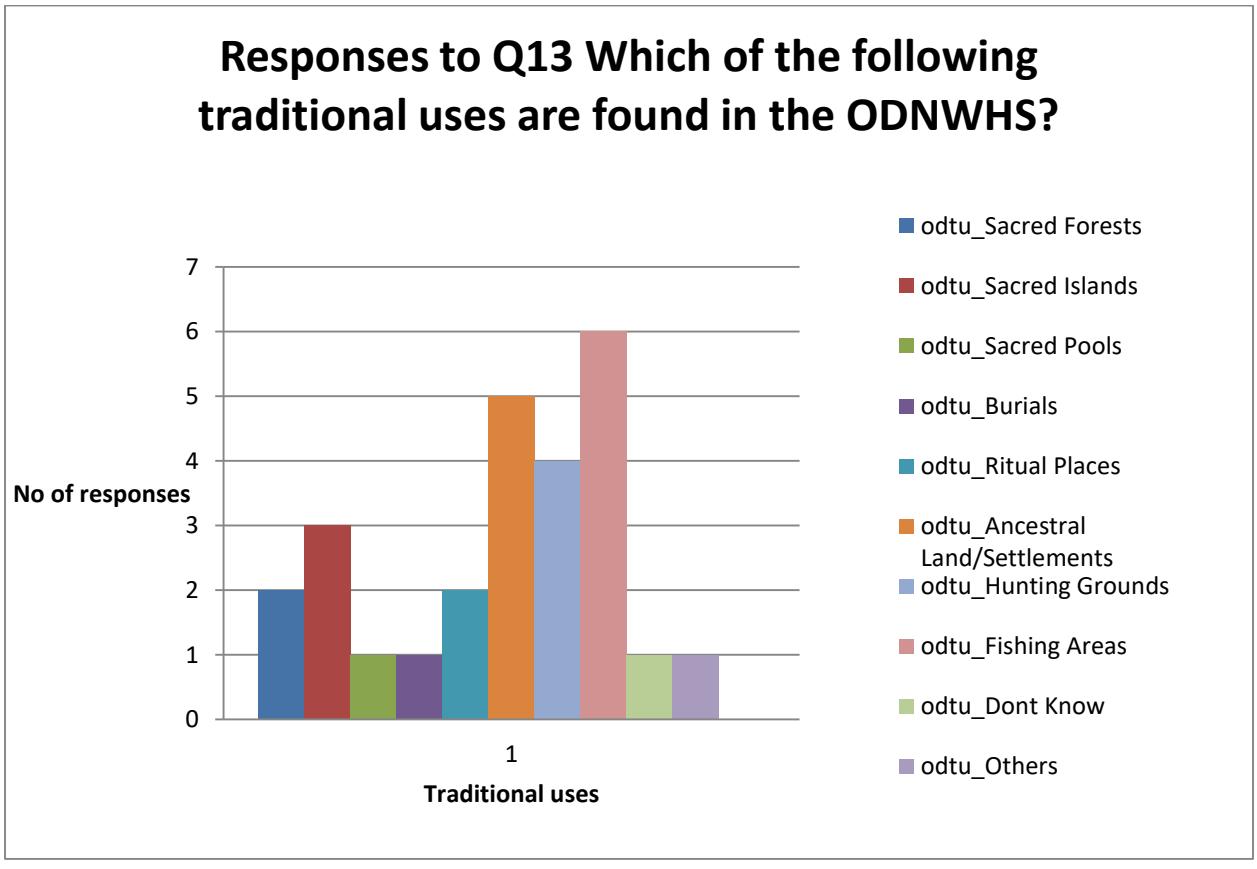

Responses to Q14 Which management system is used to manage the ODNWHS? (N=11)
0%
18%
37%
27%
18%
Modern
Traditional
Combination of Traditional & Modern
Don't Know
No Answer

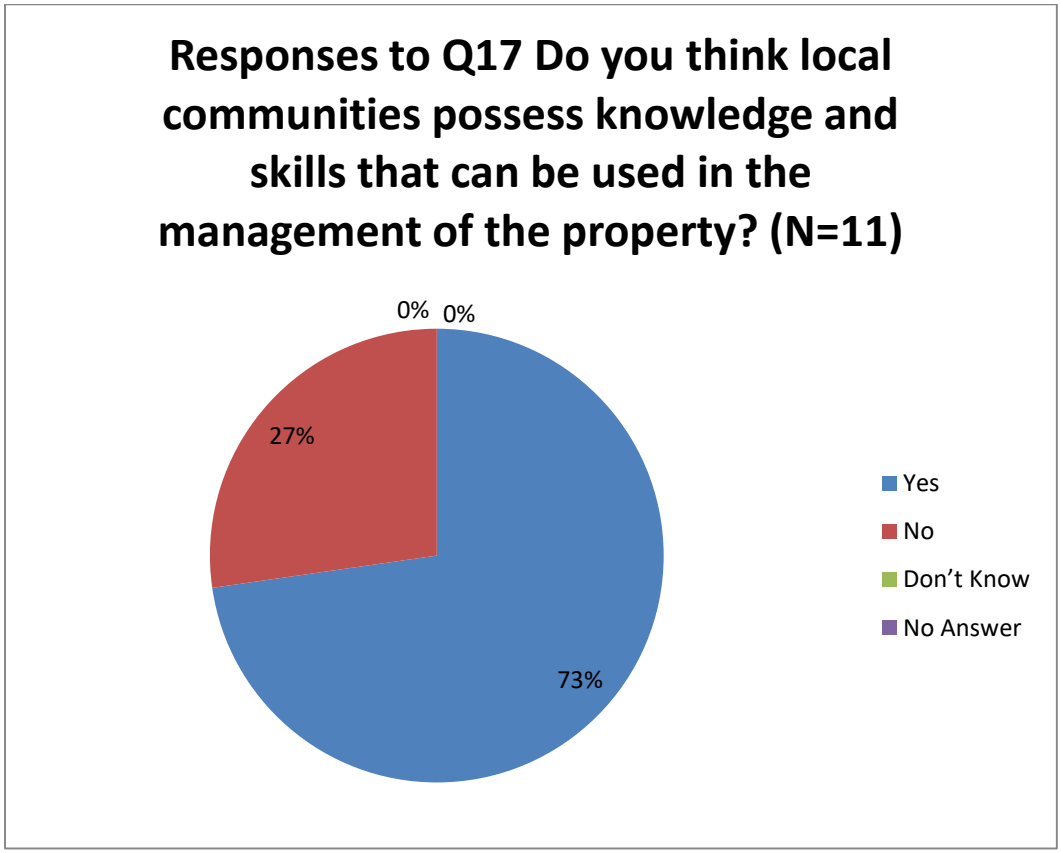

Responses to Q15 Is the system effective? (N=11)
9%
27%
55%
9%
Yes
No
Don't Know
No Answer


Responses to Q16 Does the management plan include all the values of the property? (N=11)
18%
18%
55%
9%
Yes
No
Don't Know
No Answer


Responses to Q20 Are you part of the structure? (N=11)
0%
36%
64%
Yes
No
No Answer


Responses to Q9 Do you know the OUV of the ODNWHS? (N=11)
0%
9%
27%
64%
Yes
No
Don't Know
No Answer


Responses to Q13 Which of the following traditional uses are found in the ODNWHS?
No of responses
0
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
1
Traditional uses
odtu_Sacred Forests
odtu_Sacred Islands
odtu_Sacred Pools
odtu_Burials
odtu_Ritual Places
odtu_Ancestral Land/Settlements
odtu_Hunting Grounds
odtu_Fishing Areas
odtu_Dont Know
odtu_Others


Responses to Q17 Do you think local communities possess knowledge and skills that can be used in the management of the property? (N=11)
0%
0%
27%
73%
Yes
No
Don't Know
No Answer

Appendix I: List of people interviewed

Name	**Gender**	**Age**	**Place**
Letebele Sejarwa	M	1955	Khwai
Jack Kangondo	M	1952	Khwai
Morapedi Xoagae	M	1946	Khwai
Dihalana	F	72	Khwai
Xanieko Xae	M	?	Ngarange
Kaore Xanoko	M	1951	Ngarange
Mogata Boyongo	M	1951	Ngarange
Menemene Nxaneku	M	1958	Ngarange